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AESCHYLUS, *CHOEPHORI* 1-2¹

Ἑρμῇ χθόνη πατρώ² ἐποπτεύων κράτη
σωτήρ γενοῖ μοι ξύμμαχος τ' αἰετ' ὀμείψω.

EVER since Aristophanes poked fun at the first line of the *Choephoroi* for obscurity, scholars have made deadly earnest of his jest in their struggle to arrive at Aeschylus' meaning. There is no textual difficulty; the line does not appear in the Laurentian manuscript, since the inside three folia of the 19th quaternion of M are lost, and with them the opening of the *Choephoroi*; but the first three lines are quoted in *Frogs* 1126 ff., and there is no reason to doubt the text. The trouble lies in the alleged ambiguity of πατρώ² ἐποπτεύων κράτη, and there is disagreement as to whether the expression looks back to Ἑρμῇ χθόνη, or forward to the following line. Here, however, Aristophanes ceases to be evidence. Since he was not writing commentaries, but laughing at them by burlesquing methods of criticism, neither the exposition of 'Euripides' nor that of 'Aeschylus' in the *Frogs* can be trusted. We must therefore consider the words themselves, their immediate context, and their general context in the play as a whole.

τὸ πατρώα κεκίνηκεν τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν, noted the scholium on *Frogs* 1126; and this is true of course for the passage in the *Frogs*. But the ambiguity should not remain for us. πατρώα indeed the word must be, not πατρώε (H. V. Macnaghten in *J.Ph.* xvi. 205; Verrall), since not Hermes, but Zeus, as the father of Tantalus, was πατρώος of the Pelopidae (cf. Eur. *El.* 671). But πατρώα cannot refer to Hermes' father Zeus (as Farnell in *C.Q.* 1910, p. 183, Tucker, Sidgwick, Murray), because the interpretation that Hermes acts as steward over the powers delegated to him by Zeus χθόνιος or Zeus Σωτήρ gives a wrong sense to ἐποπτεύειν, which, as Fraenkel has shown in his note on *Agam.* 1270 (vol. iii, p. 587), refers not to the duties of a steward nor to delegated powers, but to the active interest of a god in human affairs. So πατρώα must refer to the father of the speaker, Orestes; and this is surely what one would expect, for there can only be one Father on Orestes' lips, as his foot rests on the murdered Agamemnon's grave.

What one would not expect in such circumstances is Wilamowitz's interpretation of κράτη (*Das Opfer am Grab*, p. 152) as a periphrasis for the royal Agamemnon, implying that Hermes is watching over Agamemnon, still a king among the dead. The natural sense of πατρώα κράτη is the sovereignty that was Agamemnon's while he lived, to which Orestes has fallen heir, and which he is

¹ I wish to thank Professors H. J. Rose, W. L. Lorimer, and K. J. Dover for reading

early drafts of this paper, and for their very helpful criticism.

trying to reclaim; 'sovereignty' being no abstract conception, but including the land and people ruled by Agamemnon, the property he owned, as well as the power he exercised. So Lewis Campbell, Headlam-Thomson, Groeneboom, and thus far, I believe, correctly. But to show that the problem certainly does not end there, I mention two other interpretations of *κράτη*, which I think wrong, but instructively wrong.

Mazon's translation of *πατρώα κράτη* by 'les violences commises sur mon père' (Budé ed. and *R.E.G.* xxxii. 376 ff.) can hardly be acceptable until some sort of evidence is provided that *κράτη* can mean violence in classical Greek; linguistically the whole phrase is unnatural to the point of impossibility. The interesting thing is that he was led to it by a consideration of Hermes Chthonius, who he thinks is the god of vengeance, instancing *Tab. Defix.* (*I.G.* iii. 3) nos. 83, 105, 106, 107, and especially comparing no. 100 with the language of *Soph. El.* 110 ff. Now there is no doubt about the prominence of Hermes in the imprecatory tablets. The case is perhaps less clear in *Soph. El.* 110 ff., where the words stressed by Mazon, αὐ τοὺς ἀδίκους θυήσκοντας ὁρᾷ, seem to refer particularly to the Erinyes as the spirits of vengeance, while Hades, Persephone, and Hermes, through their close connexion with the dead, may be called primarily to help, ἀρῆξαι (l. 115). However that may be, Aeschylus himself must furnish our chief evidence. In *Cho.* 727, cited by Mazon, Hermes νέκυιος is appealed to as the god of deceit and stratagem, not of vengeance. But most important of all, whenever an appeal for vengeance or restitution is made in the *Choephori* to a god (and such appeals are frequent and made in the clearest terms), the god addressed is Zeus. The following passages bear this out: *Cho.* 18 f., 246 ff., 382 ff., 394 ff., 409, 783 ff., 855 ff., 948 ff. I do not, then, believe that Hermes is addressed here as the spirit of vengeance; but Mazon has clearly raised the major problem which must be answered: why is the appeal made to Hermes (and not Zeus, for example), and why is he so important that his name opens the play?

Valgimigli (*Eschilo, Le Coefore*, pp. 205-11) pointed the way, although under the influence of Mazon he translates *πατρώα κράτη* by 'la potenza vendicatrice dell' anima di Agamemnone'. This will not do, because the intrusive *vendicatrice* cannot be got out of the context. But in reaching his interpretation he took some account of the dramatic importance of the *Commos*, and rightly pointed to the parallel of l. 126. There, however, he reads *πατρώων αἱμάτων ἐπισκόπους* without discussion or even acknowledgement that *αἱμάτων* is an emendation of Ahrens for δ' ὁμμάτων in M. Stanley's *δαμάτων* is closer to M, and, I think, right. But apart from that, while l. 126 can illustrate the first line and corroborate its meaning, it cannot give it a meaning which is not already there. The first line must be translatable on its own, although the meaning may be widened and clarified as we read on.

In fact, I believe that the normal interpretation of *πατρώα κράτη* (that of Headlam-Thomson and Groeneboom) not only makes sense, but gives the only possible sense in the light of the whole play, and that Mazon's problem about the importance of Hermes holds the key to this when applied to the dramatic development of the play. Why is it Hermes who watches over Orestes' father's sovereignty? Headlam-Thomson and Groeneboom give answers to this, but they appear to me incomplete in that they fail to relate them to the whole context of the play.

In the first place it is natural for Orestes to appeal to Hermes in general

here. He is going to pray to his dead father, his foot on the tomb, and the natural divine being involved, the god to invoke, is Hermes *χθόνιος, πομπαῖος*—the go-between for the dead and mankind (cf. *Cho.* 165, and in general the appeal of Electra, 124 ff.). Mazon suggested earlier (*L'Orestie d'Eschyle*, Paris, 1903) that Hermes was perhaps to be considered as the natural guardian of thrones left vacant by the dead. He observes, rightly, that we have no actual evidence for this supposition. The relevant function of Hermes is to be gathered rather from Electra's appeal to him (124 ff.), and from the meaning and importance of the whole Invocation Scene. Electra appeals to Hermes in his capacity of herald: . . . *κηρύξας ἐμοὶ | τοὺς γῆς ἔνερθε δαίμονας κλέυν ἐμὰς | εὐχάς, πατρῶων δωμάτων ἐπισκόπους* . . . And what is her prayer? It is not to Hermes as the power of vengeance, but to her father—*ἐποικτιρὸν τ' ἐμέ, φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην φῶς ἄνακτον ἐν δόμοις*. That is, the whole success of the return of Orestes and the reinstatement of the children of Agamemnon appears to depend on the backing they receive from their dead father. Now, the *Choephori*, as is well known, falls into two parts as a play; the first, mainly lyrical and without action, culminates with the Invocation Scene, the second contains the plan and the execution of vengeance. But the whole point of the long Invocation Scene which forms the climax of the first part is just this, the necessity of Agamemnon's support for the success of his children. Only when this is felt to have been achieved does the play break from the long accumulation of tension, which is one of the most splendid things in Greek, and move swiftly to action. But in this task of eliciting the co-operation of the dead the divine go-between for Orestes and Electra must be Hermes, and if any divine powers are to take their father's part in furthering his interests in the world above, it must be *τοὺς γῆς ἔνερθε δαίμονας* (l. 125) (e.g. *Γαῖα* 489, *Περσέφασσα* 490), and as such they can be called *πατρῶων δωμάτων ἐπισκόπους* 126; and if one particular *χθόνιος* is to be singled out, it would be Hermes, first as the interpreter to the other gods, and secondly as the god who will guide Agamemnon's help to those above. Therefore he would naturally be addressed *πατῶ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη* by Orestes, in exactly the same way as Electra's *πατρῶων δωμάτων ἐπισκόπους*. The parallel between the two phrases is too close to be ignored.

The editions have listed other aspects of an appeal to Hermes: as *ἐναγώνιος*, for example, the god that brings success in combat; and as *νίχιος* or *δόλιος*, the god of wiles and stratagems for the delusion of one's enemy. Both these are combined, for example, in 727 ff. and in 812 ff. I am inclined to think that they are implied in line 2: *σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι ξύμμαχος τ' αἰτουμένω*.

If this is so, then the two lines might be said to divide with the play. The first line appeals to Hermes as he is going to help in the first half of the play—the Invocation Scene; the second appeals for the different sort of aid he will give in the second half, where the action lies. It is true that line 2 could simply refer to Orestes' desire for Hermes to ensure that Agamemnon's ghost hears him; *ξύμμαχος* can have a very general application (cf. Sappho 1. 28). But I submit that my suggestion fits the play as a whole better. For then in a sense the opening two lines epitomize the whole play which is to follow. Then *πατῶ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη* should not be taken closely with the following line, as by Tucker and Mazon; and as the lines divide in their appeal to different functions of Hermes, a comma should be inserted after *κράτη*.

HORACE, *ODES* i. 11. 6-7

et spatio brevi

spem longam reseces

PAGE translates: 'the course of life being short, cut down distant expectations', remarking that '*spatium* doubtless refers to the old metaphor of life being a sort of racecourse'; *spatio brevi* he evidently regards as an ablative absolute, and the majority of commentators and translators take it either thus or as causal in some other way: 'abl. abs. "the time being short"' (Gow); 'life is short; should hope be more?' (Conington); 'cum spatium vitae breve est' (Porphyryon); 'propter breve spatium' (Orelli); 'since our span is short' (Lonsdale and Lee). Wickham's interpretation, 'by the thought of the little span of life', seems to come under this head.

There is no strong reason for referring *spatio* here to a racecourse. Such a meaning, whether literal or metaphorical, is usually made explicit by the context: (literal) *quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari*, Cic. *Sen.* 83; *cursus et spatia probant*, Tac. *Or.* 39; (metaphorical) *defluxit . . . de spatio curriculum consuetudo maiorum*, Cic. *Am.* 40; *ad candida calcis currenti spatium praemonstra*, Lucr. vi. 92-93; *spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra*, Hor. *Ep.* i. 14. 9. Here *spatium* is most likely no more than 'space', 'extent', being often so used in temporal phrases, with no necessary allusion to a course or track: *respicere spatium praeteriti temporis*, Cic. *Pro Arch.* 1; *spatia annorum*, Prop. iii. 21. 31; *spatiumque iuventutis transit*, Ov. *Met.* xv. 225-6; and if the construction is ablative absolute or otherwise causal, it may be simply translated, in accordance with the majority of versions quoted, 'the extent (of life) being short'. In either case the sentiment would become the equivalent of the *vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam* of *Od.* i. 4. 15 (see also *Od.* iv. 7. 7 f.).

But this interpretation is itself open to the following objections: (i) *vitae* or the like has to be understood with *spatio*, whereas when *spatium* refers to the extent or course of life the reference is always explicit: *decurso aetatis spatio*, Plaut. *Stich.* 81; *brevi reliquo vitae spatio*, Liv. iv. 41. 12; *spatium mihi finiat aevi*, Ov. *Met.* xv. 874; *spatium decurrere vitae*, id. *Trist.* iii. 4. 33. (ii) Shortness of life is not the point. The injunction to Leuconoe to enjoy the present moment is based rather on the fact that the future is unknowable (*scire nefas*), and holds good whether the remainder of life be short or long (*seu plures hiemes*, 'whether Jupiter grant us many winters'). (iii) Apart from a certain grammatical oddity in *spatio brevi* regarded as the equivalent of *propter spatii brevitatem* or of *spatio brevi relicto*, a parenthetical phrase at this point reads awkwardly; it seems to break the flow of thought and make the sentence gape. Odd also is Kiessling's 'cut back at a short distance (from now)'. He is the only editor not to take *spatio* as meaning *spatio vitae*; but the ablative as expressing measure of distance could here only mean 'cut down by a short space', i.e. 'take a little bit off'. Still more difficult is the interpretation of *spatio brevi* as a dative, which seems to underlie such translations as 'abridge your hopes in proportion to the shortness of your life' (Smart); 'cut down hope to match the shortness of your life' (Wilkinson, *Horace and his Lyric Poetry*, p. 43, n. 1); even if *spatio brevi* could mean *spatii (vitae) brevitati*, how can 'in proportion to' be got out of the Latin?

The explanation, I suggest, is this. Verbs of restraining and limiting may, in

Latin, be accompanied by an ablative (without preposition) which is strictly instrumental, though seeming to have local or quasi-local implications. In Latin, as in English, a river is naturally said to be enclosed 'by' its banks: *coercitus ripis*, Liv. xxi. 31. 11; *clausus ripis*, xxi. 54. 1. What is not natural in English, but quite idiomatic in Latin, is to speak of a man being enclosed 'by' his room or his house: *clauditur cubiculo*, Tac. Ann. xv. 69; *clausus domo*, xv. 53 (cf. *claudere intra domum*, id. Hist. iv. 49) or of souls being imprisoned 'by' darkness: *clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*, Virg. Aen. vi. 734. Thus there is little difference in meaning between *copias in castris continere*, *copias intra castra continere*, and *copias castris continere* (see L.S. s.v. *continere*), though the last is to be distinguished grammatically from the others; cf. further Cic. *Pro Arch.* 23: *Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur*, 'contained "by" (Anglice "within") their own narrow territories'. In this way the simple ablative may express not only the confining limits of a thing (as in *retinere vinclis*) but the enclosed space itself 'by' which, i.e. 'in' or 'to' which, the thing is confined. Now *resicare*, with its sense of 'repressing', 'curtailing', 'moderating', is closely analogous to these verbs. In respect of its general meaning and its use with *spem*, it may be compared with the common *praecidere*, *minuere*, *redigere*—though its particular application by Horace is to 'limiting the scope of' rather than to 'limiting the amount of'; while its literal usage is comparable to that of *compescere* in *ramos compesce fluentes*, Virg. Georg. ii. 370. *Spatio brevi* may therefore naturally be taken of the brief extent 'by' ('to', 'within') which, says Horace, hope must be reduced and circumscribed—a meaning clearly exemplified in Liv. ii. 50. 7: *cogebantur breviori spatio et ipsi orbem colligere*, 'to gather, compress "by" ("into") a smaller space', and Ov. *Fast.* vi. 495–6: *est spatio contracta brevi . . . terra*, 'contracted, withdrawn "by" ("into") a narrow space' (of the isthmus of Corinth).

This meaning fits well into the general thought of the ode. What Horace is saying to Leuconoe is: 'your hopes and expectations extend too far into the future; none can in fact know what is to come. Put narrow bounds to them, therefore, and rather make the most of the passing day.'

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AESCHYLUS, *CHOEPHORI* 926

Κλ. δοικα θρηνην ζῶον πρὸς τύμβον μάτην.

MR. G. A. LONGMAN, in *C.R.*, N.S. iv. 1 (1954), pp. 86–90, suggests that *τύμβον* is Agamemnon's tomb and that the reference is to Clytemnestra's libations and lamentations offered at the tomb of Agamemnon. This interpretation is suspect for four main reasons: (1) *θρηνην* is much more easily taken as a reference to Clytemnestra's activities in the immediate present than to her past activities (Longman's defence against this is unconvincing). (2) One would expect a reference to the all-important libations, if Longman's interpretation were correct (again, Longman's defence seems inadequate). (3) *ζῶον πρὸς τύμβον* is an obvious antithesis, which loses its point if Longman's

interpretation is accepted. (4) *τύμβον* seems to imply Clytemnestra's own death; it is so clearly taken up in this sense by *τύμβε μόνον* in line 927.

The basic meaning seems to be that Clytemnestra realizes that a mother's tears are of no avail; her doom is sealed. Practically all editors have taken it in this sense, with variations which there is not space to discuss; it would not be difficult to find an interpretation amongst these (e.g. Sidgwick's) which would be immune from the rather captious objections advanced by Longman against current views.

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WHEN WAS AESCHINES BORN?

IN 390, we always say, relying on i. 49 *τούτων δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ Μισγόλας. συγχάνει μὲν γὰρ ἡλικιώτης ὢν ἑμὸς καὶ συν-ἔφηβος, καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἐμῆτον καὶ τετρακοστὸν ἔτος* καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τοσαυταὶ πολὺς ἔχω ὅσους ἡμεῖς ὄρατε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνους. The date of i is unquestionably winter, 346-5 (see, e.g., the Budé edition, pp. 15-16).

However, i. 49 goes on to say that he gives the age of Misgolas to counteract the impression that the jury might have, that Misgolas and Timarchus are much the same age. Misgolas is in fact much older than Timarchus. How old was Timarchus? To quote Kirchner (*Prosopographia Attica* 13636), 'Natus est non post a. 391/0, quoniam iam a. 361/0 senatoris munere functus est', which is a reference to Aeschines i. 109 *βουλευτὴς ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἀρχόντος Νικοφίμου*.

As Blass (*Attische Beredsamkeit*², iii. 2. 170) pointed out, without, as far as I know, worrying anyone else, there is a discrepancy. How can it be resolved?

1. The age-qualification for the *boule* (see Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution*, p. 224, n. 4, for references) was not in operation in 361. Possibly, in view of its absence from Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*; but on the whole, it is unlikely. When would it have been suspended and why?

2. Timarchus sat, although legally debarred. More promising, since he obtained all his offices *παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις πρῶτος*

(Aeschines i. 106), but it is odd that Aeschines should have missed a chance of substantiating his vague charge.

3. Aeschines is just lying. This is the solution of Blass, who takes it as an example of Aeschines' *Unwahrhaftigkeit*. But why should he make his lie so explicit and so easily refutable?

4. *Νικοφίμου* is corrupt in i. 109. Nearly impossible; there is no relevant archon's name at all like it.

5. *ἐμῆτον καὶ τετρακοστὸν ἔτος* is corrupt in i. 49. There does happen to be an alternative version of Aeschines' age. The Vita ascribed to Apollonius has only one detail, the alternative form *Γλαυκίς* of Aeschines' mother's name, that it could not have got from the speeches, until it comes to Aeschines' death. *ἐτελεύτησε δ' Ἀισχίνης ἀναρθεὶς ἐπὶ Ἀντιστράτου καταλυθείσης τῆς πολιτείας, ὅτε καὶ οἱ περὶ Δημοσθένην ἐξεδύθησαν, βεβιωκὸς ἔτη οὐ*. The statement is in itself unlikely, but the author does appear to have thought that Aeschines was born in 398/7 or 397/6. The most likely corruption is from *τέταρτον καὶ πενήτητον* (cf. Thuc. viii. 104. 2 *ὅκτω καὶ ἐξήκοντα* for *ἑξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα*), but this ought to imply 399/8. In any case, since Aeschines never speaks of sharing his parents' exile under the Thirty, 403 is the extreme upper limit.

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AN ARISTOTLE PUBLICATION-DATE

*S.I.G.*³ 252. 42-43 records a payment made by the Amphictyonic treasurers in the autumn session of the archonship of Kaphis for the inscribing of a list of *Pythionikai*, and *S.I.G.*³ 275 makes it clear that this was the list compiled by Aristotle and Callisthenes. This gives us one of the best-attested publication-dates in ancient literature, and it is worth getting it right. It is therefore a pity that the new edition of Jaeger's *Aristoteles* p. 348 repeats the old date of 331 for the publication. This is based on old views of Delphic chronology, now superseded by the magisterial work of La Coste-Messelière

(*B.C.H.* lxxiii [1949], 201 ff.). Kaphis is now firmly fixed in 327/6, and the *Pythionikai* were inscribed in late 327. Much of the work must have been done some time before, if Callisthenes took effective part in it; and it is a matter for regret that we do not possess the dating formula of *S.I.G.*³ 275, the Amphictyonic decree thanking Aristotle and Callisthenes, which must be earlier than the arrival in Greece of the news of Callisthenes' death.

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ARISTIPPUS' *MENO* 79 a

At *Meno* 79 a Socrates is objecting that Meno is giving him a part of virtue instead of virtue itself: he had not wanted it 'broken up into pieces'. At 79 a 9 his words are 'Ὅτι ἀρτὶ ἐμὸν δεξιότερος σου μὴ καταγνῖναι

μηδὲ κατακερματίζειν τὴν ἀρετὴν κτλ. The manuscripts of Aristippus' version have *quoniam me modo orante tu, non continere neque dispergere virtutem*, but Kordeuter (in his edition in the *Plato Latinus* series) emends

continere to *conterere*. But *conterere* seems a very inappropriate word: according to Kordent's index, it is used elsewhere by Aristippus to render *καταρτίζω* and *συντρίβω*. I suggest that Aristippus wrote *continere* (= 'keep intact') as a translation of *μὴ καταρτίζω*, and that the *non* should be deleted from the text. The *non* could be a mistake going back to Aristippus himself, who may have translated the *μὴ* by *non* and

then decided to use a single word of positive meaning (*continere*) to translate *μὴ καταρτίζω*. But it may be due to a copyist who had the Greek before him as well as the Latin and did not understand *continere*, or who was misled into a sort of dittography by the prefix *con*.

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GADFLIES AND THE LAESTRYGONIANS

In his courteous notice of my pamphlet *The Landfalls of Odysseus* (C.R. box. 205), Professor J. A. Davison says, in criticism of a portion of its thesis: 'There is too much evidence (see, for example, A. Lesky, *Thalatta*, 1947, pp. 151 ff., and G. Germain, *Genèse de l'Odysée*, 1954, pp. 511 ff.) that most of Odysseus' wanderings are to be understood as taking place outside normal geography, altogether. . . . On this point the Laestrygons, with their midnight sun, fiords, and cannibalism (cf. H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, p. 118), seem to me to be conclusive.'

With deference to all concerned, I think 'evidence' is the wrong word; for it can, in my opinion, be shown that the landfalls of Odysseus are in fact real places, most of which can still be recognized (in curiously exact topographical detail) from the poet's own thumb-nail sketches of them. As they all, from the Lotus Eaters onwards, lie between the Ionian sea and the Straits of Gibraltar, it will appear, not very surprisingly, that nearly the whole of the *Odyssey* is in all respects a tale of the Western Mediterranean, not of distant seas, icebergs, or high northern latitudes.

My present object, however, is merely to show that the gadfly theory, advanced by the more practical of the scholiasts in explanation of *Odyssey* x. 82-86, is not by any means absurd, as has been somewhat pontifically pronounced.

The passage runs as follows (x. 81-86):

'On the seventh day we came to the steep town of Lamos, to Laestrygonia of the Far Gates [if that is the right translation]. Here herdsman driving in his flocks hails herdsman; and he who drives them out makes answer. Here could a sleepless man have earned a double wage, one wage as a cattle-herd, the other as a shepherd of white sheep: so close to one another are the journeyings of night and day.'

On this passage Merry (1886), who has been followed by others, says: 'The scholiasts, who lay the scene in Sicily, suggest an absurd

interpretation. They maintain that the swarms of gad-flies there made it dangerous for the cattle to feed except after sundown; while the sheep, being protected by their woolly fleeces, could pasture during the day. . . .' He then goes on to expound the midnight sun theory which is still fashionable.

My own limited knowledge of livestock and insect pests led me to believe that the gadfly explanation was by no means 'absurd'. I wrote, however, to Professor M. M. Burns, and received from Mr. L. J. Dumbleton, Lecturer in Entomology, in Canterbury Agricultural College, New Zealand, information to the following effect:

'Even in England and Scotland it is often desirable or even necessary to stall cattle during the heat of the day to prevent them being worried or stampeded by gadflies. . . . Horses, cattle and man are most affected: sheep are not mentioned, but I believe they would be pretty well immune. In hot climates a good deal of feeding is done by cattle at night. . . . Pasturing at night would have no disadvantage as far as obtaining food is concerned and if gadflies were present there would be an additional advantage in night pasturing.'

In South Africa, while cattle are frequently grazed at night and brought in in the day-time, sheep—even in very large numbers—are, in certain districts at any rate, brought in and counted every evening, as being more liable to molestation both by beasts of prey and by man.

Mr. Dumbleton referred me also to Mr. H. Oldroyd, of the British Museum (Nat. Hist.), London, who very kindly replied as follows, and has given me permission to quote his letter:

'The story of cattle having to be taken in to avoid the attacks of Horseflies (*Tabanidae*) is certainly not "absurd". It has been reported from widely separated countries. A. D. Fraser, (1920, *Bull. Ent. Res.* xi. 195-7) reports this from Northern Russia, and C. B. Philip (1931, *Univ. Minnesota Tech.*

Bull. lxxx. 3-10) gives a number of reports and personal observations of the effect of Horseflies on stock. It is true that these authors speak of the flies as even worse in the Arctic Circle than elsewhere; . . . but it goes on in other countries too. D. J. Lewis (1953, *Bull. Ent. Res.* xlii. 175-216) has a good deal to say about the effect of these flies on grazing herds in the Sudan, where he attributes seasonal migrations in part to a need to avoid fly-infested areas. In the day-time they have to be protected against flies by smoke-fires. *Tabanids* certainly occur in Sicily, and upwards of thirty species have been recorded from there. These are the common Palaearctic species, such as occur in France and in England, with one or two North African species added. I have no information about the possible effect of these flies on herds in Sicily at the present time, but I should think it is unlikely that they are a great problem now for two reasons. One is that the country has been changed since classical times by draining and increased population, and breeding of the flies is sure to be more restricted. The other is that, as I understand, cattle are relatively few, and are mainly kept in the east of the island. They are said to be less numerous than sheep and goats.

There is a further point about the flies that are called "gadflies". My late colleague Major E. E. Austen (1939, appendix in Edwards, F. W., Oldroyd, H., and Smart, J., *British Bloodsucking Flies*, pp. 149-52) went into this matter of the "gadflies" of the classical authors, and made a case for the theory that they were not Horseflies, but were the non-biting Warble-flies (*Hypoderma*). These . . . lay eggs on the legs of cattle, and their hum, as they approach to do so, seems to be terrifying to cattle. According to Austen, the true "gadding" of cattle—i.e. the capering about, tail in air—is attributable to this hum, and cattle can be made to gad by imitating the sound of the fly. Austen quotes a passage from the *Odyssey*, xxi. 300, which he would refer to *Hypoderma* and not to Horseflies. It is natural that anyone seeing the effect this fly has would think that it had bitten or "stung" the beast.

In *Od.* xxii. 299 ff. the suitors, maddened by the sight of Athena's *egis*, 'fled in terror through the hall like pasturing cattle that the flitting gadfly attacks in spring-time, when the long days begin, and drives in panic flight'. Why it should be thought 'ridiculous' to pasture cattle at night to avoid such attacks, and to bring them in in the day-time, I do not know.

Mr. Warden Baker, formerly H.M. Consul at Palermo, of whom I made inquiries (with regard to the district of Castellammare as a possibility for the scene), replied that he was once requested to make arrangements for a distinguished visitor to Castellammare, which happened to involve the question of a supply of fresh cow's milk: he found, however, that there were no cows in that area, so that pasteurized milk had to be obtained from Palermo. Goat's milk was available and there were many sheep in the hills. As the pasture there is good, he said, there must have been some reason why cows were not kept. I am grateful for such an item of information, as this is not an easy matter about which to make local inquiries by correspondence. Mr. Baker mentioned also that, whilst making a sketch of Castellammare from the hills above, he was much bothered by 'nasty grey flies', which also got under the hair of his dog and proved difficult to crush or extract.

The words in the *Odyssey*, 'so close to one another are the journeys of night and day', seem to me merely to mean that they are close to one another in point of time. The sheep are coming home at the end of the day [or going out in the morning] just about the same time as the cattle are going out for the night [or coming home in the morning], so that shepherd and herdsman pass and hail one another.

The words themselves could also mean that the actual paths, followed by shepherd and cow-herd, were close to one another and within hailing distance, as the scholiasts suggest—in fact they obviously must have been. But time rather than place seems to be the important point.

I cannot myself make much sense of the 'high northern latitude' theory—apart from the fact that the poem has nothing to do with high northern latitudes. To say that 'the journeys of day and night are close together' could hardly mean, it seems to me, that the two periods of daylight are close to one another—in Merry's words, 'that the interval of darkness between the two periods of light is actually inappreciable'.

This, furthermore, would seem to mean that sheep and cattle were pastured on alternate days of, say, 23½ hours each. The 'Eleven-Plussery' of this (if I may use the term) is beyond my poor intelligence, as indeed it was beyond Merry's (see his page 403: 'But we are after all only dealing with a fairy story . . .').

The obvious meaning of the passage is that a sleepless man could earn a double wage, one wage by day, another wage by night—

the shifts of day and night being approximately equal.

There are other reasons also why cattle should be pastured at night; but I hope I have said enough to show that the gadfly theory is not necessarily absurd and to justify myself to that extent in sharing Thucydides' belief that the Laestrygonians, like those other giants and cannibals, the

Cyclopes, are to be looked for in Sicily, not in Scandinavia.

The matter may appear trivial in itself. But it is a matter of some importance to the proper understanding of the *Odyssey*. Beneath the smoke of fiction in the *Odyssey* there is always some fire of reality.

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REVIEWS

THE PHYSICAL WORLD OF THE GREEKS

S. SAMBURSKY: *The Physical World of the Greeks*. Translated from the Hebrew by Merton Dagut. Pp. x+255. London: Routledge, 1956. Cloth, 25s. net.

THIS is an excellent book, well translated. Classical scholars, as well as the general reader, are greatly in the debt of Professor Sambursky, an eminent spectroscopist who is now Director of the Research Council of Israel, for producing what is at many points a more illuminating treatment of Greek science than any other that I know. Its author emphasizes that the book is intended not as a systematic history, but as a series of studies of some of the more important aspects of Greek science (in which, it may be said, special emphasis is laid on the neglected subject of Stoic physics), woven around a fairly numerous selection of ancient texts which are given in translation. The book does, however, incidentally present a useful survey of the Greek physical (but not medical or biological) sciences down to the time of Ptolemy and Plutarch. Specialists in different parts of this wide field will inevitably, of course, find matter for disagreement, and in certain respects improvements can be suggested. Far more often, however, the author has succeeded in a way almost beyond reproach; in particular, he has largely avoided the special traps that await the scientist who compares the motives of ancient science with those of modern. Such comparisons do indeed constantly and usefully occur, but the conclusions drawn from them are sober and reasonable.

In the first chapter, on 'The Scientific Approach', the main differences between modern and ancient science are outlined. In the former there is a balanced use of induction and deduction; theory and practical application help one another. The Greeks, on the other hand, relied too much on induction, formed *a priori* hypotheses too readily, and neglected close and systematic observation and experiment—largely because their main motive, as Aristotle approvingly said, was curiosity, rather than the attempt to dominate Nature. The account of the Milesians and of Empedocles has certain drawbacks. In spite of a warning about Aristotle's methods, his conjectures are too readily taken as the truth about Thales, and the Aristotelian substrate is accepted without question as the true nature of the originative material. Anaximander is praised for using a scientific model, by which is meant his map—but the significance of his proportional arrangement of the heavenly bodies, which was the first step among the Presocratics towards the mathematization of the cosmos, is not noticed. The comparison between Anaximander's theory that the earth

stays still because of 'its similar distance from all things', and the scientific 'principle of the lack of sufficient reason', is an interesting one, the more so since Sambursky observes that this principle is dangerously misleading if applied with insufficient knowledge: 'Today . . . we regard the apparent absence of a sufficient cause as a sign that our knowledge is incomplete' (p. 13). Less caution is shown over Empedocles' Love and Strife: 'The modern physicist is amazed at the intuition which led Empedocles to propound the simultaneous existence of forces of attraction and repulsion' (p. 19). The fact is, however, that Empedocles simply took the two opposite motives which, as Hesiod and many others had clearly recognized, dominate all human relations ('Strife' as well as 'connexion') had recently been emphasized by Heraclitus), and applied them in a quasi-material form to the cosmos. What is rather surprising here is that Empedocles still resorted, almost as openly as Anaximander, to an anthropomorphic explanation of physical interactions; though we must remember that even Aristotle did something similar. Other minor criticisms of this chapter are that Anaxagoras did not invent the idea of aether, as is implied, nor was aether regarded as an 'extremely rarefied form of air', except by Anaximenes; and the theory that the moon's light is reflected is at least as early as Parmenides.

The second chapter, 'Nature and Number', gives a rather too brief and dogmatic account of Pythagoreanism, in which many of the serious chronological difficulties are ignored and the fragments of Philolaus are accepted as genuine with no note of warning (fr. 12 at least, which is quoted, surely depends on Aristotle). Plato is firmly but not hysterically indicted for making 'pure' mathematics the philosopher-scientist's only concern; but Heraclitus is oddly underrated in relation to the progressive mathematization of the physical world, since his concept of Logos (which probably includes the idea of proportion), both in man and in the outside world, is clearly relevant here. He also seems to have been a notable exception to the tendency detected by Sambursky in all periods of Greek science of treating the world as a living body. This kind of judgement, which is now rather commonly made, is in fact too sweeping: a distinction should be clearly drawn between the treatment of movement as analogous to organic life and the imposition of anthropomorphic motives on external events; the former, at least, Heraclitus avoided. Sambursky perhaps exaggerates the scientific quality of Pythagoreanism, and for this reason is disappointed that it made little progress towards a science of dynamics. In any case, as Sambursky well shows, Aristotle held up further advance in this direction; and the acute observation of Theophrastus, quoted on p. 48, that 'mathematics would seem to be constructed by us who put figures, shapes and ratios into things which in themselves do not exist in nature' (a translation which would be clearer if 'into things' preceded 'figures'), was taken as an indication that the process of phenomenal events could not decently be reduced to mathematical expression. Even Archimedes hardly touched upon dynamics.

The third chapter is mainly astronomical, and is of high quality. It emphasizes that astronomy was the most fruitful field for Greek scientific inquiry because its data presented themselves without trouble, could be observed more or less exactly, and were mostly recurrent and therefore could be checked. Sambursky tellingly restates the contrast between the modern view of regularity of motion, based on the analogy of the machine, as 'automatic' and soulless, and the Greek view, well exemplified in the *Epinomis*, that regular motion

implies a directing mind—here the analogy is said to be that of the craftsman faultlessly imitating his model. The idea of the divinity of the stars persisted through Plato to Aristotle, and the implied qualitative separation of heaven and earth meant that the mathematical study of the stars was kept utterly separate from terrestrial physics. A clear description is given of the main astronomical discoveries from the fourth century B.C. onwards: the explanation of planetary movements by concentric spheres, then by the theory of epicycles; Hipparchus' discovery of the precession of the equinoxes; the arguments on heliocentricity, in which the Pythagoreans and Aristarchus were overwhelmed by Aristotle, Hipparchus, and anthropocentric conservatism; and the measurements of the earth's circumference and of the distances of sun and moon. Here, incidentally, one may wonder how Aristarchus was able to overestimate by four times the angular diameter of the moon, which can be measured far more accurately than this with the very simplest of devices. The next chapter, on 'The Cosmos of Aristotle', is again acute and deeply interesting. Sambursky notes that Aristotle's teleological approach was more damaging to his astronomical than to his biological studies, for in the latter a presupposition of purpose does not much affect investigation within the species. The disastrous theory of natural places and of absolute lightness and weight arose from the old anti-theoretical analysis, which, Sambursky remarks, led nowhere and in addition discouraged exact observation and measurement. After Aristotle's lifetime his cosmology was not accepted intact until the Middle Ages; it is remarkable, in fact, that it survived at all in face of radical differences in Stoicism and Epicureanism (much as they owed to Aristotle), and also in Alexandrian theories, like that of the precession of the equinoxes, which were incompatible with the Aristotelian structure of the cosmos. Indeed one may say that Aristotle was preserved by a sort of intellectual *παλμός*: for while Theophrastus was dubious about the teleological principle, the Stoics, who rejected the Aristotelian finite universe, reinstated teleology, and so on, until Christian theology gratefully accepted the principle and ossified it for a millennium.

In his fifth chapter Sambursky turns to Atomism. What he says on the differences between the ancient and modern theories is sensible enough; but it would have been helpful to add something on the interrelation of the two, for example in the person of Gassendi. There are a number of mistakes in this chapter which place it below the level of most of the others. It is not 'known' that Leucippus was an Eleatic (p. 107); to say that the postulation of a vacuum inescapably leads to solid atoms puts the cart before the horse (pp. 108 f.); *παλμός* is admittedly ascribed to Democritus once in Aëtius, but is probably a backward projection from Epicurus (pp. 113, 124); the quotation assigned on p. 114 to Simplicius is in fact reproduced by him from Aristotle's *On Democritus*, while on p. 130 Diels's very speculative supplement at the end of Democritus fr. 11 is translated as though it were by Democritus; the passage from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* quoted on p. 127, in which the difference between shape, arrangement, and position of atoms is said to be illustrated in Democritus by A, N, AN, NA, and so on, has no known connexion with that in the *Theaetetus* where letters and syllables illustrate the idea of physical elements as such. On occasion in this chapter scientific terminology is used unnecessarily and perhaps misleadingly: thus a clear account of the Democritean explanation of differences between, for example, lead and iron is not really helped (even for the scientist?) by references to 'lattice structure'; and it is confusing

to write of Epicurus' *molecular* theory, as distinct from the atomic theory of Democritus, solely on the grounds of Epicurus' stress on the concept of the *concilium* of atoms (though Sambursky has much that is interesting to say here). On p. 111 Sambursky uses language which makes it appear as though he subscribed to the mistaken view that infinite atomic shapes necessarily entailed infinite atomic sizes. Bailey exemplified this error when he wrote (*The Greek Atomists and Epicurus*, p. 127): 'Now logically of course infinite differences of shape imply infinite differences in size', and added in a note 'This was perhaps first seen by Epicurus'. Sambursky now states that 'To every given size it is possible to assign only a finite number of distinctly different shapes . . .', where the word 'distinctly' only confuses the issue. It is difficult to see what Sambursky means when he continues as follows: 'once all the possible mutations have been exhausted, a fresh shape can only come into being through an increase in the volume of the atom'. This argument is one apparently advanced by the author himself, and not reported, for example, from Epicurus; it must be regarded as unfortunately phrased. The fact is, of course, that in a continuous atom an infinite number of shapes *can* be imposed upon a given volume.

In the sixth chapter, entitled 'The World of the Continuum' and dealing with Stoic physics, the author immediately regains his highest standards. He gives a clear account of Stoic *πνεῦμα* and of *πνευματικός τόπος*, which gives to matter its specific structure and therefore its qualities. The Stoics, it is claimed, improved on Aristotle in their conception of movement in a continuum (though it is surely exaggerated to write on p. 139 of their 'profound understanding of dynamic phenomena in an elastic medium and their power of precise formulation'). 'Tensional motion' is well contrasted with the Epicurean idea of 'throbbing' or 'vibration', and is illustrated by quoting Galen on the outstretched arm. Posidonius' concept of 'sympathy' is clearly described; too much, perhaps, is claimed for Chrysippus' theory of total mixture. The problem of mixture leads on to a discussion of infinite divisibility as treated by Zeno of Elea; an excellent summary of the paradoxes and their implications shows how Aristotle in his discussion of them almost arrived at the concept of velocity. The difficulties over the definition of Time are stated on p. 152: 'the obstacles to the analytical description of time on the analogy of length are great, bound up as they are with our own inner consciousness of time: our fundamental biological sensation of the onward flow of time stands in the way of its comprehension in the abstract and its transformation into a geometrical dimension. This decisive step, which was the prerequisite of the evolution of modern physics, had to wait for Galileo.' The chapter closes with an interesting discussion of the application of the principle of convergence to famous problems in continuity like Democritus' paradox about adjacent sections of a cone and Eudoxus' determination of the volume of the cone. Chrysippus evolved the expression 'equal and unequal' to describe the relationship of adjacent conic sections: here I side with Plutarch against Sambursky in finding this 'an infringement of the fundamental concepts of logic'—it was, no doubt, a useful paradox, but logic is concerned with the description of the determinable and not with paradoxes, however evocative.

In his next chapter Sambursky considers ancient views of causation. The rigid Atomistic view presaged the analogy of the machine; Aristotle reverted to the Socratic analogy of the craftsman; Epicurus abandoned science in his theories of atomic swerve and of alternative explanations; the Stoic Logos, with

its implication of a continuous cosmos, restored a rigid system of cause and effect—'hence we observe the paradoxical situation that the essentially religious Stoic school becomes the legitimate heir of the Democritean conception of mechanical necessity and the bitterest opponent of Epicurus' attempt to circumvent causality' (p. 169). The author maintains that it was the 'philosophical' element in Epicurus which subdued the 'scientific' element; but this antithesis between philosophy and science is a misleading one, and it would be truer to say that the schematic, dogmatic, *a priori* element (and philosophy is not necessarily all these things) dominated the deductive and rationalistic element. Yet the scientist's viewpoint is revealing and useful here, as also in the comment on Democritus on p. 161 that '... in his refusal to be drawn into 'metaphysical' questions, we can see his intellectual acumen and his deep understanding of physics'. The Stoic attempt to explain free-will by the distinction of preliminary from determining causes is well explained; it is noted that in Stoic physics, perhaps more strikingly than elsewhere in Greek thought, 'we find a penetrating analysis of scientific method or scientific reasoning which is either performed upon the wrong object or mixed up with worthless superstitions' (p. 174)—for example, with the belief in divination. It was the Stoics, and particularly Chrysippus, who progressed from Theophrastus' examination of hypothetical syllogisms to a definition of the possible; yet no general theory of probability was achieved. Here Sambursky has an excellent discussion of the Greek indifference to questions of probability, illustrated by the rules of the game of knuckle-bones, in which there was no correlation between the scoring and the probable frequency of the four different throws.

Chapter 8 deals with cosmogonies, with special reference to the use of the vortex-idea (which is, of course, important in modern cosmogonical theory). Again the Presocratics are handled in a manner that is less convincing than usual, and the author's use of evidence is less discriminating than is desirable in such a delicate field. Thus Anaximander, if he believed in a vortex at all, certainly did not believe in the permanent existence of one in the Boundless; and the Atomists evidently *did* attempt to describe how their vortices originated. The statement that from the doxographical sources it is 'probable' that Anaximander believed in an infinite number of simultaneous worlds is unacceptable nowadays. The weaknesses of this chapter are more than made good by its able successor, 'The Beginnings of Astrophysics', which is mainly a long and fascinating discussion of Plutarch's essay *On the Face in the Moon*—'a distillation of the science, philosophy and mythology of all the four hundred years that separate Empedocles from Poseidonius'. Sambursky shows how Aristarchus' heliocentric hypothesis, though not generally accepted, led one of Plutarch's Stoic sources to something like a theory of gravity—at any rate, to a radical departure (unfortunately quite ephemeral) from the Aristotelian geocentric theory of natural places. The chapter ends by contrasting the cautious scientific spirit of Seneca's discussion of comets with the dogmatism of the Aristotelian tradition.

Last comes a brilliant essay on 'The Limitations of Greek Science'. The theory that is so hard worked by Farrington and others, that it was the institution of slavery that produced the Greek lack of interest in technology, is briefly and conclusively dismissed by references to Egypt, where slavery and technology flourished together. Scientific progress was eventually inhibited by the same *a priori* attitude which gave to it its original stimulus; and lack of technical

development and of experimentation produced after the second century B.C. what Sambursky calls a shortage of scientific fuel, which allowed an irrational penetration from the East and favoured the spread of belief in the new ideas offered by Christianity. This process was reversed, as it were, at the Renaissance, when the petrification of science and philosophy by the Christian scholastics finally resulted in a belated reaction against Aristotelianism. It is perhaps a little naïve to marvel at 'the framing of mechanistic cosmogonies at a time when the machine was unknown'; this is to exaggerate the place of analogy in human reasoning, and after all, the natural world does exemplify, if attentively studied, a tendency to regularity of event and consequence. Little else can be found to criticize in this discussion of the limitations of Greek science, which is the best that I have seen. It is a fitting conclusion to a book that is a learned, enlightening, and highly commendable contribution to the study of ancient thought.

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HOMERICA

GISELA STRASBURGER: *Die kleinen Kämpfer der Ilias*. (Frankfurt Diss.) Pp. 143. Frankfurt: privately printed, 1954. Paper.

DR. STRASBURGER begins her very illuminating dissertation with a stylistic analysis of the various ways of mentioning minor warriors in the *Iliad*. She distinguishes the simple catalogue of names alone (e.g. v. 677-8); the name with patronymic (v. 707); the name with an epithet descriptive either of racial or local origin (v. 706); and the name with a description of costume (v. 707) or warlike valour, skill, or strength (v. 706). The simple catalogues show certain stylistic variations; and a tendency to alliteration may be significant. Sometimes the patronymic is expanded into a genealogy (e.g. xv. 525-7), in which, as a further variation, some special quality of an ancestor may be mentioned (e.g. v. 76-78); or the local origin may be particularized (e.g. v. 44); or the valour may be emphasized (e.g. v. 536). Similes are also used for giving vividness.

These sub-heroic figures help the main narrative in several ways. They give a concreteness and definiteness to the presence and movements of the armies at Troy. Their defeats serve to enhance the glory of the chief heroes (whose 'kills' a later writer like Hyginus could record as if they were hunting records). Their variously contrived deaths emphasize the sadness of war. The details of their personal background arouse pathos through echoes of homeland and family. There is an implicit contrast here between the world of peace and the world of war, the world of heroism and the world of everyday life: 'Was tut man dort? Leben. Was muss man hier? Sterben.' And there is a further contrast between the splendid funeral and abiding fame that attend the top-flight hero after his death and the oblivion that obliterates the minor warrior. Occasionally, also, a minor warrior enables the poet to introduce associations and suggestions which help to emphasize the underlying feelings of the whole poem. This is best seen in Lycaon, whose death (as E. T. Owen, quoted here, has suggested) 'puts before us, in Homer's objective way, as an event, the true inwardness of the tragedy of Achilles'.

This dissertation also contains noteworthy discussions of isolated scenes and

passages, a remarkably interesting, though brief, discussion of the minor-warrior figures in the *Odyssey* (Eurylochus, Euryalus, Eurymachus, and others: in contrast with the Iliadic types these represent various groups in opposition to the single-handed supreme hero Odysseus, who is 'the one against the many'), and an appendix on the Nisus and Euryalus incident in *Aeneid* ix. Occasional touches of deep but controlled feeling for the fate of 'little warriors' in general make this study something more than an excellently executed monograph, and show how the events of recent years in Europe have brought a deepened understanding of the mind that lies behind the *Iliad*.

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W. B. STANFORD

ERNESTO VALGIGLIO: *Achille: eroe implacabile*. Studio psicologico sull'*Iliade*. Pp. 125. Turin: Ruata, 1956. Paper, L. 750.

THIS short book discusses psychological aspects of Achilles' character in the *Iliad* and some associated problems of Homeric criticism. Special attention is paid to the Embassy scene in Book ix, which, in Valgiglio's opinion, provides the best basis for understanding Achilles' motives and feelings. (As a result of this view, some of the other incidents in Achilles' Iliadic career receive rather less notice than they deserve.) The Embassy is accepted in its entirety as a part of the Wrath-poem. The value and importance of Phoenix' role is strongly emphasized. Valgiglio makes good use of Schadewaldt's distinction between Insult-wrath and Revenge-wrath, and illuminates some aspects of Achilles' temperament in terms of the *vóμος/φύσις* antithesis. He rejects Bethe's theory of two different Iliadic conceptions of Achilles—the melancholic, nostalgic figure in Book ix against the bloodthirsty and bellicose figure in xvi—and rightly allows a major epic hero to have a character capable of widely varying moods. The portrait of Achilles in Book ix, he concludes, amplifies that of Book i, brings out the fundamental egoism of his character, and, by its emphasis on the Meleager story, prepares the way for the *Patrocleia*. The main conclusion on the structure of the *Iliad* as a whole is that the development from the quarrel in i through the embassy scene in ix to the reconciliation in xix is natural and coherent.

In the course of this lucid and finely phrased study Valgiglio has much of interest to say on the Homeric problem in general, on psychological aspects (in this he is never rigorously doctrinaire) of other Homeric heroes (chiefly Phoenix and Agamemnon), and on some special Homeric topics (e.g. the *lex talionis*, *φθόνος θεῶν*, and *ἀπερή*—the last with a characteristically Italian regard for *nobiltà della mente e nell' arte della parola*). His documentation is generally very full (an extreme example being over seventy citations from classical authors on the *lex talionis*), and he cites over 140 modern scholars (but occasionally more recent references might have been given). Greek and non-Italian words are misspelled or misaccented on pp. 21, 27, 34, and 97.

Though some readers may find this study subjective at times—a fault hard to avoid in psychological discussions of motives and feelings—all scholars interested in the characterization and composition of the *Iliad* are likely to find it instructive and stimulating.

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L. G. POCOCK: *The Sicilian Origin of the Odyssey*. A study of the topographical evidence. Pp. vii+79. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand University Press, 1957. Paper.

PROFESSOR POCOCK, inspired by Samuel Butler's theories in *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, visited Trapani in 1952 and became convinced that Butler was right in identifying that part of Sicily with both Scheria and Ithaca. His arguments will hardly convert any sceptics. He selects his evidence to suit his thesis rather too obviously. Inconvenient features in the Homeric descriptions are dismissed on the grounds that the poet is 'after all a poet and not an historian', is 'strongly possessed of the spirit of comedy', and is sometimes 'deliberately playing the fool'. Homer's statement that Odysseus enjoyed a deep sleep while the Phaeacian speed-boat brought him from Scheria to Ithaca—fatal, one would think, for Butler's theory—is waved away as a mere pleasantry: it is 'magic for the many but fun for the inner circle'. On the other hand, when the poet's descriptions fit the scenery near Trapani, there is no question of any joking or fooling. As for the most remarkable feature of Homer's Ithaca, the cave of the Nymphs (*Od.* xiii. 103 ff.):¹ there are no 'stone looms' in the cave at Trapani (but 'stalactites and stalagmites may have been there once'); there are no signs of 'ever-following water' (but 'there may well have been springs or rivulets from the limestone in antiquity'); there is no 'door towards the South' (but 'there are sufficient cracks and fissures in the back of the cave' for gods to use as an entrance); and there were no bees apparently when Pocock was there (but Butler saw 'large numbers').

In a chapter entitled 'The Landfalls of Odysseus' (a reprint of the pamphlet published in 1955) attempts are, rather arbitrarily, made to identify the other major scenes of Odysseus' voyage, partly in agreement, partly in disagreement with Bérard. The author believes that the *Odyssey* was written at Trapani about 650 B.C. and was 'strictly anonymous—and misunderstood—from the very earliest days of its publication . . . a tale of feud and faction amongst the communities of the Elymi, and of the delicate relations existing between them and the Phoenician overlords'. The illustrations and maps are good, but prove nothing about Homeric topography. In general this book gives, very pleasantly, the impression that searching for Odyssean landfalls is an agreeable hobby for travellers in the Mediterranean but a delusive subject for factual research.

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GREEK TRAGEDY

ALBIN LESKY: *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*. Pp. 229. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956. Paper, DM. 11.50.

As the preface makes clear, this book would have been better described by a title like *The Present State of the Problems of Greek Drama*. Whether or not Professor Lesky's great gifts and wide learning are best employed on a book which is largely a summary of other, and for the most part lesser, men's work, there is no doubt that it will be a great convenience to have available a compendium

¹ Not two caves as Pocock believes: the Greek in *Od.* xiii. 347-50, even if the very dubious text is sound, does not indicate more than one, and the plural in xvi. 232 proves

nothing: nor does the fact that there are two caves 'within two or three minutes' walk of one another' near Trapani settle the matter.

of this nature. Some of the material has already appeared in the *Forschungsberichte* in the *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft*, where it is arranged, as in Bursian, under the heading of individual books and articles. Here it is arranged by subject, which makes for easier, though still concentrated, reading. At times a certain awkwardness arises out of the combination of discussion and bibliography, since it is impossible to take account in the text of all the works cited in the footnotes. In consequence works of importance and originality, such as the books of Waldock and Whitman on Sophocles, are listed without any indication being given of their content. The usefulness of the book would have been increased if the index had been enlarged to give references to modern scholars and their works.

The main body of the book consists of chapters on the origins of tragedy and on each of the three dramatists, the latter being divided into sections dealing with biography, transmission, surviving plays, fragments, structure and language, and thought. A remarkable quantity of information combined with judicious comment is compressed into a reasonable space. All that a reviewer can do is to report the most interesting of Lesky's conclusions and to make the few criticisms which suggest themselves on points of detail.

Aristotle's account is accepted as the starting-point of inquiry into the origins of tragedy. In referring to *Post.* 1449^a37 as evidence that Aristotle himself claimed to be speaking from knowledge, not from inference, it should perhaps be pointed out that it is by no means certain that this claim is made with reference to the actual origin and not merely to such stages of technical development as the introduction of the second and third actor. A more convincing argument might be that he would not have given an account of the origin and development of tragedy so startlingly at variance with his analysis of its nature as a mimesis *σπουδαίων* belonging to the same class as epic, unless he had reason to suppose that it was historically true. Recent attempts to identify primitive satyrs with the *dickbäucher* of early art are treated with suspicion, and a goat-chorus is not accepted for the Satyr-play. In discussing the significance of *τράγος* at *Ichn.* 357 reference might have been made to the reading *κρήνη*, preferred both by Pearson and Page, which eliminates the goat's beard altogether. In general Lesky is doubtful of the possibility of giving firm answers to most of the questions that arise, above all to the question why it should have been appropriate to make over to the god Dionysus the chorus which mourned the hero Adrastus.

A late date, probably 463, is definitely accepted for the *Supplices* of Aeschylus. The attempt of Pohlenz to evade the conclusion by supposing it an early play produced for the first time by Euphorion is rejected on the ground that *Ox. Pap.* 2256. 2, the Argument to the *Septem*, shows that Euphorion would have been mentioned as the victor. This is not altogether conclusive, since Aeschylus, it appears, was unique in that his plays were allowed by special enactment to compete after his death. Accordingly Euphorion producing plays of Aeschylus would not have been on the same footing as Aristias producing plays by Pratinas. For the interpretation of the play the account of K. von Fritz is favoured (*Phil.* xci). Though accepting the *P.V.* as genuine Lesky is more troubled than most English scholars by the weight of evidence against it. As for the Trilogy as a whole, he slightly favours Reinhardt's manipulation of opposites against the theory of a developing Zeus. In the discussion of the *Septem* reference might have been made to the view, which has been held by

scholars of repute, that Eteocles' death is an act of self-sacrifice which saves Thebes.

The *Trachiniae* is placed among the earlier plays of Sophocles, and associated, as it is by Pohlenz, with the *Alceſtis*. It is to be doubted whether any significance is to be attached to the fact, not statistically impressive, that this play, like the *Ajax* and *Antigone*, is of the 'diptych' pattern. Are we really to suppose that Sophocles had a sort of model in his head to which he fitted the structure of his plays? The *Hippolytus* is a 'diptych' because Euripides chose not to bring Phaedra and Theseus face to face. It is likely that the *Trachiniae* is as it is because Sophocles chose not to allow Deianeira to confront Heracles, rather than because it was written in his 'diptych period'. It is true enough that in the *Electra* Sophocles goes out of his way to make Clytemnestra repellent, that our attention is not obviously directed towards the moral problem, and that, as in the *Philoctetes*, plot and character are becoming more detached from the myth. But this is not quite sufficient to put the reader on terms with the play; above all there remains the question, are we to suppose that Orestes and Electra lived happily on at Argos?

Euripides, unlike Sophocles, seems to have taken little part in public life; but the reference in the *Rhetoric* (ii. 6. 20) to his presence at Syracuse, very possibly on an embassy, is worth mentioning. It is very convenient to assume that we really know the date of the *Electra* from the allusion to πόντος Σικελός in the *Exodos*, but Zuntz's argument (*Political Plays of Euripides*, p. 66) that as evidence it is worth little deserves serious consideration. The attribution of three doubtful plays to Critias is accepted with hardly a hesitation, though Page's dissent is once referred to. It might have been added that Satyrus quotes extensively from the *Pirithous* as being by Euripides. The question of the authenticity of the *Rhesus* is not regarded as closed, but Lesky himself has little doubt that it is of the fourth century.

The accounts of individual plays by Euripides are particularly good, and the importance and difficulty of the *H.F.* for the interpretation of his work as a whole are well emphasized. 'Was soll uns nun Hera, ohne die das Geschehen des Dramas nicht ablaufen kann? Ist der Dichter, der sie uns wirkend zeigte, selber einer jener Sänger, die Herakles in seinen Worten verwirft?' When this can be discussed without ending with a question-mark we shall be nearer the comprehension of Euripides.

There remain two other topics of importance, style and character. The plainness of Euripides' iambic style is well brought out, but Euripides had more than one style, and it cannot be ignored that it is at times surprisingly, even incongruously, ornamental. Character is a more difficult subject on which, for lack of an agreed terminology, it is hard for writers to express themselves with precision. On the one hand, we are not to think of characters in Greek drama as creations of the same order as the characters of modern 'Seelendrama'; on the other hand, they are not types. It is harder to say just what they are. Zürcher's attitude finds favour with Lesky up to a point, but he rightly refuses to go the whole way in denying possibility of a unified character containing within itself inconsistent moods and impulses. As between Sophocles and Euripides it is well brought out that the momentary psychological insight of the latter does not lead to any pre-eminence over Sophocles in the presentation of the complete tragic character.

EURIPIDEAN INTERPOLATIONS

WERNER BIEHL: *Textprobleme in Euripides Orestes*. (Jena diss.) Pp. 99. Göttingen: privately printed, 1955. Paper.

DR. BIEHL's book deals mainly with interpolation problems. He examines in succession almost all the disputed passages, discusses the principal arguments which have been advanced, adduces any further evidence which he considers relevant, and then, in most cases, gives a definite verdict. When he declares a passage interpolated, he offers tentative suggestions concerning authorship (actors, editors, or scribes), and attempts to determine the interpolator's methods and aims. He pays particular attention to the evidence for textual innovations caused by changes in 'Aufführungstechnik'; in addition, he stresses, rightly (since this has been unduly neglected), that not a few textual supplements found in all the manuscripts derive from post-Alexandrian 'Redaktortätigkeit'. His conclusions are summarized in an index (pp. 96-97).

The author deals with problems other than spurious verses. These are often relevant to his main theme: interpolators who insert whole trimeters would not scruple to alter single words, and similar problems then arise. But he could with advantage have omitted the discussion of some dozen other *cruciae* where the problems are quite different, and where, in any case, he himself has little or nothing to contribute towards a solution: cf., for instance, his notes at 1385 sqq. (pp. 82-83), and 1679 (p. 95). [References are to the lines of the play and to Biehl's pagination.]

The book's main fault is neglect of the fundamental principle that verses must be considered innocent unless they can be proved guilty. One suspects that Biehl, though he never explicitly says so, regards it as strong evidence of interpolation when a verse or passage is 'entbehrlich': cf. his remarks at 82 (p. 14), 686 (p. 44), 716 (p. 48), 1224 (pp. 72-73). This is a wrong attitude (cf. Maas, *Textkritik*², p. 12). The result is that when Biehl defends disputed verses he is not content to show that they are unobjectionable, but tries to prove, often with feeble arguments and at tedious length, that they are 'unentbehrlich'. Thus, for example, while Page demonstrates (*Actors' Interp.*, pp. 45-47) that 'there is no good case against' vv. 1506-36 [the Orestes-Phryx dialogue], Biehl maintains (pp. 84-85) that they are 'fest in der Gesamtkomposition des Stückes verankert'. In supporting this assertion, he mentions parallelisms between the depiction of the Phrygian and of Menelaus: both are obsequious, both are glib, and 'die "Unmännlichkeit" wird in beiden Fällen betont', since 'der Tatsache, daß der Phryger Eunuch ist (1528), entspricht die Schwäche des Men. gegenüber dem weiblichen Geschlecht (754)'. Such gratuitous nonsense is usually more wearisome than amusing.

In condemning verses likewise he often overstates his case. At 1564-6 (p. 87), for example, he gives eight 'Gründe für die Athetese': only two of these merit serious consideration.

Excessively subjective judgement is a frequent fault. Thus, for instance, at 848 (p. 51) Biehl condemns 'der besonders schwerfällige und völlig farblose Ausdruck *ἀγῶνα τὸν ποικελευμένον*', having failed to notice that the identical phrase occurs at *Phoen.* 780. Again, he regards careless verbal echoes, such as repeated *χρεών* at 937-8 (p. 57), as demanding either deletion or subtle explanation—cf. also his remarks on repeated *κακούς* at 1351-2 (p. 57, n. 2);

on *πρωόμεθα, πειρώμεθα* at 1359, 1368 (p. 80); on 1228-9 and 1579, 1587 (p. 89). But such blemishes in tragic diction need no such treatment: see Page, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-8, Pearson on *Hel.* 674, Tyrrell on *Bacch.* 647. Biehl's use of parallels is ambivalent: he can use them to show *either* that a passage is Euripidean in style (and therefore genuine) *or* that it is a pastiche of Euripidean tags (and therefore spurious). He might justifiably, at 852 (p. 52), have used *El.* 1 for the former purpose, but refrained, perhaps because Page (following Paley) had already used it for the latter one.

Biehl devotes some attention to *dating* interpolations: he fails, however, to evaluate all the evidence. He does not always consider whether or not a disputed verse was read by the scholiasts—cf., e.g., 730 (pp. 49-50): similarly, the testimony of *Pap. Ox.* 1370 is not fully weighed, and is not quoted at all the relevant places—cf. 686 (p. 45, n. 1), 852 (p. 52), 907-13 (p. 55, n. 1), and contrast 916 (p. 56), 933 (p. 56), 938 *et* 941 (pp. 57-8). Incidentally, a *terminus ante quem* can be given for the interpolation of δ¹ at 79 (not mentioned by Biehl): see Paley, *ad loc.* The *Orestes* (with its wealth of papyri, scholia, and testimonia) offers ample scope for a chronological analysis of interpolations: if these had been indexed according to the available *termini post/ante quem*, and subdivided in each section according to motive and method, the separate characteristics of interpolations by actors, editors, and scribes at different periods might have been most usefully delineated.

Two likely interpolations remain unsuspected and uncondemned:—1175-6 [1172-4 answer 1151-2], and 1221 [feeble explanation of pregnant *ἐν δόμοις*]. The reviewer will discuss these elsewhere.

Some further comments:

136-9 (pp. 16-17): the arguments of Wilamowitz (*Einl.*, p. 152, n. 61) should be cited and answered.

554 (p. 31): cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 658-66.

602-4 (pp. 35-36): spurious—see Ed. Fraenkel, *Eranos*, xlv (1946), 81-89.

625-6 = 536-7 (pp. 36-39): genuine—cf. P. W. Harsh, *Hermes*, lxxii (1937), 435-49.

706-7 (not mentioned by Biehl): spurious—see Gow, *C.Q.* x (1916), 80-82.

1086-7 (pp. 67-68): cf. *Suppl.* 533-4.

1245 (p. 76): Paley's η , though omitted from Wecklein's Appendix, is well worth consideration.

1366-8 (pp. 79-81): see now A. M. Dale, *Wien. Stud.*, lxix (1956), 103-4.

It has seemed most useful, in the space available, to list the book's faults: its merits, in the systematic and frequently felicitous exposition of disputed passages, are not inconsiderable.

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ORACLES IN HERODOTUS

ROLAND CRAHAY: *La littérature oraculaire chez Hérodote*. (Bibl. de la Fac. de Philos. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, fasc. 138.) Pp. xiii + 368. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956. Paper, 1,000 fr.

M. CRAHAY sets out to examine our oldest and fullest collection of oracles with admirable intentions, to provide 'une discussion minutieuse des cas particuliers', to separate the false from the genuine, to consider the former in the context of their invention and only the latter as directly relevant to the question

of oracular influence in politics and religion. In Part One (*Les Sources; L'Oracle et l'Écrivain; Élaboration littéraire*) Crahay explains the principles on which this discussion will be based, and it is soon clear that few of Herodotus' oracles will pass the test, that the book will become a study in forgery rather than in mantic activity. So, indeed, it does. In Part Two (*The Oracles and Religion, Colonization, Sparta, the Kings, the Tyrants, Athens, and the Persian Wars*) Crahay spins such a web of propaganda and counter-propaganda that scarcely a single pronouncement by the Pythia or any other seer escapes. Some religious oracles are allowed to pass—here Delphi at least played a real if rather negative part. 'Quant aux oracles purement politiques, il nous paraît manifeste que, dans la plupart des cas, les autorités religieuses n'ont eu aucune part active à leur élaboration.' The priesthood merely ignored or acquiesced in the use of Delphi's name in the contemporary manoeuvres or the re-creation of the past by different political groups, Cleomenes, the Philaids, and, above all, the Alcmeonids who, during their enforced idleness at Delphi between 520 and 511, evolved the stories of Croesus, Cypselus, the Peisistratids, Polycrates, perhaps Psammetichus and Amasis, and others.

Two important questions are raised. How many oracles are genuine? How, and by whom, were the false invented? The evidence does not allow a clear answer to either. Everyone must be more or less sceptical about the surviving oracular literature. Much of the tradition is undoubtedly false, much more may well be. But in the doubtful cases argument is rarely possible. If one believes much more to be true than Crahay allows, it is only because Delphi's undoubted reputation seems to demand that the oracle did at times play some real part in important political events; because the hypotheses involved in belief are often no more extravagant than those of Crahay or other sceptics. To take one example. Together with most historians, Crahay points to the thirty-year delay prescribed in the Aegina oracle (*Hdt.* v. 89) as proof that it is a *post eventum* fabrication of 458. It is indeed possible that it is. But, by attacking Aegina immediately, Athens ruled out the thirty-year interval and chose instead an unspecified period of varying fortune (with ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τοῦ χρόνου looking forward to τέλος μέντοι, not back to ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ). It is no more difficult to accept the oracle and see it as an attempt by Delphi (on behalf of the Alcmeonids?) to dissuade Athens from immediate attack by the promise of an easy victory in the distant future (when the priests' successors would have to take the blame for failure) than it is (with Crahay, pp. 274–6) to imagine a grand-scale fraud by the Athenians in 458.

The number of ways in which we can explain the forgeries is limited. They may be (as Crahay argues) political inventions; or literary inventions (as he also allows); or fabrications by the priests to glorify Apollo or themselves (so Defradas, *Thèmes de la propagande delphique*, Paris, 1954); or they may be (as Amandry points out in his excellent review of Defradas, *Rev. Phil.* xxx [1956] p. 279) not so much inventions as elaborations (literary, political, or religious) of genuine responses. Again certainty is often impossible. If one believes that it is wrong to ascribe all to one source, it is only because a combination of priestly vanity, political intrigue, literary elaboration, and genuine oracular activity seems more credible than the idea of 'une pléiade d'écrivains au service des prêtres' (Amandry, p. 281), or a similar 'pléiade' rewriting early Greek history in the interests of the Alcmeonids. Amandry rightly rejects Defradas' picture of a priesthood 'ambitieux et avisé', 'impérialiste et usurpateur', but Crahay's

description ('comblé de trop de cadeaux, il laissa opportunément un bienfaiteur munificent parler à sa place.') is hardly more convincing.

Crahay has attempted an important and difficult job. Many of his suggestions on the origin of Herodotus' oracles are interesting and may well be right, but too often he has gone further than the evidence allows and sometimes he has even disregarded such evidence as there is. I note a few of these last cases in conclusion: (pp. 267 ff., 288) the Cypselus oracles surely belong to the seventh century (cf. Parke's excellent discussion in *Hermathena*, xxvii [1938], 63 ff., now slightly modified in *The Delphic Oracle*², i. 119); (p. 26) similarly on Cylon cf. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 120; (p. 26) Crahay discounts any Delphic intervention in the Solonian reforms—but what of ἐσθλὰ γὰρ θεοῦ δίδόντος (Solon, *A.L.G.*³, fig. 23; cf. *B.C.H.* lxxx [1956], 49); (p. 153, n. 1) Tyrtaeus (*A.L.G.*³, fig. 3b) would seem to put Delphi's part in Spartan history, whether fictitious or not, earlier than Cleomenes—Crahay dismisses it thus, 'Le témoignage le plus intéressant . . . est sans doute celui de la grande *Rhêtra* . . . suivie chez (Plutarque) d'un poème . . . qu'il attribue à Tyrtaée'; (p. 282) the evidence of archaeology is vital for the activities of the Alcmeonids at Delphi, and for this Courby is not enough—add, at least, de la Coste-Messelière, *B.C.H.* lxx [1946], 271 ff. with his references to earlier discussions.

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ART AND LITERATURE IN FOURTH-CENTURY ATHENS

T. B. L. WEBSTER: *Art and Literature in Fourth Century Athens*. Pp. xvi+159: 16 plates. London: Athlone Press, 1956. Cloth, 25s. net.

PROFESSOR WEBSTER explains in his Introduction (I) that 'Fourth Century' in his title is not to be taken too literally. The three figures who form the focal points of his three studies, Art and Literature in Plato's (II), Aristotle's (III), and Theophrastus' (IV) Athens, define the scope of the book; and Plato spent the formative years of his youth during the last quarter of the fifth century. Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus are the main figures, but the book is not only for the specialist in philosophy, as it is not only for the specialist in literature and art. Webster's purpose is 'to put in the centre what is for the specialists rightly on the fringes and to extrude to the fringes or to banish altogether what is equally rightly the centre of their specialist studies'. The specialists will undoubtedly, from time to time, experience the vertigo of disorientation. It will be good for them, but they will undoubtedly sharpen their knives. To give an example of the vertiginous, Webster appears to compare, as examples of the same 'way of seeing', the Lyme Park relief in which 'the disillusioned old comic poet is contrasted with the gay immortality of the comic mask he holds in his hand' with the Platonic philosophy in which the reality of the ideas is contrasted with the unreality of the world of becoming and decay.

In addition to his three main figures, Webster takes three attitudes as typical in a general way of the three periods with which he is concerned. He calls them 'three different ways of treating material, not mutually exclusive, and not confined to any one period but certainly more common each in its own period'. They are the attitude which sees things in terms of contrasts (Plato), the attitude which is more interested in organic structure (Aristotle), and the

attitude which concentrates more on the surface and the external appearance of objects (Theophrastus).

Webster sustains his thesis with an extraordinarily broad and certain grasp over a wide area of scholarship, an area which few of his readers will be equipped to compass, certainly not the present reviewer. Webster also on occasion carries compression and brevity of expression to such lengths that the critic must often feel that he has not fully comprehended what he is asked to condone.

Webster's scheme wears thinnest in the first of the three studies (II), where he characterizes the artists, writers, and thinkers of Plato's Athens as pre-eminently interested in finding contrasts in their material. In the first section he describes the 'flowery and gracious style of Isocrates, characterized by paratactic construction of pairs of elements', and says that it can reasonably be compared with the so-called rich style of contemporary vase-painting and sculpture. The description he then gives of this vase-painting and sculpture does not suggest where the reason for the comparison lies. He recalls that the watchword of the new democracy after 403 was *homonoia*, and claims that this idea 'is symbolized in art by the pictures of the gods who normally belong to different spheres'. Now that we are done with Nietzsche, do we really know enough about Greek religion to be sure that a picture in which Apollo and Dionysus feature symbolized *homonoia* in heaven? It seems very doubtful.

Webster makes much of the Lyme Park relief, in which the sculptor, he claims, 'stressed the contrast between the gay immortality of the poet's creations and the sad disillusioned mortality of their creator'. Any interpretation of such a relief, even if it were not damaged, is bound to be subjective. The sceptical critic, to whom several other interpretations are bound to occur, finds Webster's certainty disturbing, since so much is built upon it. Again, speaking of a Tarentine fragment depicting a tragic actor holding a mask, Webster quotes Rumpf's description: 'the painter is fascinated by the contrast between the heroic mask of the fair curly-haired man and the elderly almost brutal face of the grizzled actor with his stubbly beard and his receding hair, which still shows the pressure of the mask'. The points are made with the precision of the advocate, but when he refers to the picture the sceptic will again doubt whether all this was in the artist's mind.

Webster finds 'realism, simplicity, contrast' also in the sculptured portraits, in Aristophanes' late plays, in Xenophon and in the speeches of Lysias, and in the sketches of the various types of men in the later books of the *Republic*. Turning to Plato's other dialogues, he points to the vivid characterization, and to Socrates, whose appearance is so much in contrast with his real nature. He examines contemporary drama and finds in it a contrast, not unlike the contrast between the comic mask and the disillusioned old man of the Lyme Park relief, between the realistic emotions and actions of the tragic character and his gorgeous appearance on the stage. Here he makes a suggestion which is difficult to accept: that the rags of Telephus which Dicaeopolis borrowed in the *Acharnians* were not in fact worn but only described, so that Euripides provides a contrast between the actual stately robes of the actor and the imagined rags. If this was the case I feel that Aristophanes would not have missed such an opportunity of guying the ridiculous.

The contemporary habit of seeing things at different levels may, Webster suggests, have influenced Plato in his division of objects of apprehension into different levels with different values in the three successive images of Sun,

Line, and Cave in the *Republic*. Turning to personification in the vase-painting of the time, he compares it with the use of personification in Plato. In connexion with the myth of the *Phaedrus* he makes a statement which the student of ancient philosophy will find startling. 'The Platonic Forms (or Ideas) are thought of as Nymphs in a remote and secret garden, and the soul is likened to the charioteer of a winged chariot drawn by two unlike horses. If the place beyond heaven reminds us of the garden of the Hesperides, the drive to heaven reminds us of Heracles' drive to Heaven. Plato (like Parmenides before him) took over a popular and oft-represented Heracles story and applied it to the soul.' I do not understand the reference to Parmenides, in whose poem the hackneyed convention of the poet's chariot (see Pindar and Bacchylides) is employed to transport the speaker to the underworld. It is true that Heracles was carried off in a fiery chariot by Athena and Hermes from the pyre on the peak of Mt. Oeta to be wedded to Hebe in heaven (Gruppe, i. 472), and Medea experienced a similar assumption, but this method of bringing to an end the earthly sojourn of semi-divine beings is very different from the soul's circumvolution of the heavens in the *Phaedrus*, which must have an astronomical origin.

In a concluding section to this first study Webster contrasts the rich style of Isocrates and Meidias with the realism of the portrait painters, and claims that Lysias and Plato, unlike the lyric poets and tragedians, effected a reconciliation of the opposing tendencies of the age. This new schematization cuts across the old, and is puzzling to meet at this stage. It is, however, the realism on which Webster lays most stress. Realism leads to 'seeing in levels and in contrasts', and seeing in levels leads to the elevation of personifications to people a supernatural world. This is the common denominator, the determination of which forms the basis for Webster's claim that 'we cannot understand the art without the literature or the literature without the art'. In spite of the subjectivity of so much of the interpretation, it is possible that such a common denominator exists, but, so much conceded, it seems of little significance or utility. There is so much in the achievement of the writers and artists to which it does not apply. Furthermore, 'seeing in contrasts' is such a common attitude that it is difficult to believe that it is really more typical of Plato's Athens than of any other period.

The two remaining chapters of the book are much easier reading. The parallels between Aristotle's biological, organic, approach to philosophy and the literary theories of his contemporaries, and of the contemporary Plato in the *Phaedrus*, are readily acceptable, and Theophrastus' concentration on the particularities of the individual and his superficial characteristics is an attitude recognizable as similar to the developments of New Comedy.

The critic must approach Webster's book with respect for the width of scholarship and knowledge from which it draws. The pursuit of common denominators is an arduous intellectual exercise, which can only excite admiration. Such studies perform for the less learned the vital service of building communications between the heavily populated but isolated areas of investigation. Dwelling on the borders has always been a dangerous occupation. In this case Webster seems to have accepted serious risks only in his Platonic chapter. The reader cannot but feel that, Aristotelian and Theophrastean Athens having yielded up their common denominator without a struggle, the Athens of Plato has become the victim of the author's natural desire for mathematical elegance.

PTOLEMY'S OPTICS

ALBERT LEJEUNE: *L'Optique de Claude Ptolémée dans la version latine d'après l'arabe de l'émir Eugène de Sicile*. Édition critique et exégétique. Pp. 132+360; 100 figs. Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1956. Paper, 420 B. fr.

IN 1948 M. Lejeune gave to the press a scholarly essay *Euclide et Ptolémée: Deux stades de l'optique géométrique grecque* which indicated not only his own grasp of the principles of optics as developed in the ancient world but also the vast gaps in the literature of the subject. In the intervening years, when he has become a professor at the Athénée Royal at Ath in Belgium, he has been devoting himself to the filling of one of those gaps, and the result is now seen in the first critical edition of the Latin version of Ptolemy's *Optics* by Admiral Eugenius of Sicily, a substantial and satisfying volume in which a carefully established text with full apparatus criticus is supplemented by valuable introductory essays.

Eugenius was a leading figure in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies at a time in the twelfth century when it was the cross-roads of Byzantine, Arab, and Latin civilization. His own mother-tongue was Greek. He translated minor works from Arabic into Greek and from Greek into Latin, and was thanked for help by the unknown author of the first translation from Greek into Latin of the *Almagest*. The *Optics* of Ptolemy was cited by Damianus, Simplicius, Simeon Seth and (probably) Olympiodorus, the commentator on Aristotle, but it has not survived in Greek; there can, however, be no doubt, as M. Lejeune readily shows, that the work translated from the Arabic by Eugenius is that of Ptolemy. This translation is now the only link with the original, for no Arabic version has survived. Eugenius tells us that he had before him two manuscripts, of which he used the more recent as being the more accurate; but it is uncertain whether he meant two separate translations or successive manuscript copies of the same translation. It is shown by M. Lejeune that an Arabic translation was already in circulation in the ninth century. Alhazen in the eleventh century wrote an 'abridgement of optics drawn from the two works of Euclid and Ptolemy', from which it appears that the first book of Ptolemy's work was already lost as he tried to reconstitute it. Later this same Alhazen with widened knowledge wrote an optical treatise of his own which superseded both Euclid and Ptolemy. This may help to explain why, in the time of Eugenius, part of the fifth book was also missing.

Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century frequently cited or paraphrased the translation of Eugenius, and his influence may have helped to increase interest in the work. It would appear to be significant that the three oldest manuscripts date from the fourteenth century, and were written in places as widely separated as southern Italy, France, and Germany. In all twelve manuscripts have been collated by M. Lejeune, ranging in date from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Eight of them have already been used by A. A. Björnbo and S. Vogt in their *Alkindi, Tideus und pseudo-Euklid, Drei optische Werke*, and M. Lejeune adopts their designations A, B, K, R, S, T, V, Y, adding the letters F, G, H, I to designate the four other sources. Of the twelve only one, the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century manuscript S, is in an English library—the Bodleian; it is not of fundamental importance, and M. Lejeune has used it

systematically only for the preface and the second book. These manuscripts have had to be rediscovered in modern times; for Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Graeca*, 1790-1809, described the work as lost.

Until M. Lejeune produced this volume, the edition of Gilberto Govi in 1885 was the only printed edition of the text. After taking soundings in the fourteen manuscripts known to him—two have since been lost—Govi decided to rely entirely on the oldest, *A*. As he was a physician rather than a palaeographer, he relied on an expert, A. Cerutti, for a transcription of the text, and where it appeared unacceptable he corrected it according to the sense, unfortunately without indicating what was attested and what was conjectural. To provide any readable text was an achievement, and, all things considered, Govi's edition was a praiseworthy effort. But after seventy years of critical studies, the text needed re-examination by a scholar trained in modern methods. M. Lejeune shows that there are two families of manuscripts derived from a nearest common ancestor written about 1200. Govi's chosen manuscript *A* is the closest to this nearest common ancestor, and therefore the text now established by M. Lejeune is less revolutionary than it might have been; but what was formerly established by luck or instinct is now set on sure scientific foundations.

IVOR BULMER-THOMAS

PLOTINUS

Plotinus: *The Enneads*. Translated by STEPHEN MACKENNA. Revised by B. S. PAGE. Foreword by E. R. DODDS. Introduction by PAUL HENRY. Pp. li+635. London: Faber, 1957. Cloth, 63s. net.

THE appearance of the long-announced one-volume edition of MacKenna's translation of the *Enneads* will be welcomed by all who are interested in Plotinus at any level of scholarship and understanding. The original limited edition in five volumes, published by the Medici Society from 1917 to 1930, has for some time been out of print and difficult and expensive to obtain. Further, MacKenna's work needed revision if its very great merits were not to be obscured by defects for many of which the translator himself cannot be held responsible. Anyone who, like the present reviewer, has tried himself to translate Plotinus into English must agree with the judgement of Professor Dodds in his foreword that MacKenna's is 'one of the very few great translations of our time'; the longer and more closely one studies it the firmer becomes one's conviction of its excellence. But Dodds has also shown in his foreword how very little help MacKenna had from the professional scholarship of his own or earlier times. Editions were defective and earlier translations not very helpful. There is still no adequate commentary and no published lexicon or *index verborum*. Since 1930 the study of Plotinus has been given a solid critical foundation and our understanding of his thought and language greatly increased by the work of a number of distinguished scholars, above all by the editors of the new critical text, Henry and Schwyzler, and the translators Harder and Cilento. A very good short survey of this recent work is to be found in the preface to the present edition by the reviser, B. S. Page, himself one of the finest and most perceptive of Plotinian scholars, who translated the first three treatises of the Sixth Ennead and revised MacKenna's translation of the rest of it in the original

edition: and he has made very good use of these recent increases in our understanding in his revision, within the limits which he has properly set himself. These limiting principles are clearly stated in his preface; they are, that MacKenna's words should be kept as far as possible, and that different renderings of phrases and sentences should only be substituted for the originals where the other interpretation 'was almost certainly preferable and would appreciably modify one's conception of Plotinus' doctrine or comprehension of his logical procedure'. What we are reading therefore in the second edition is still MacKenna, but a MacKenna from which the undoubted blemishes have been removed. An example of the sort of change which has been made, the correction of a clear mistranslation, may be taken from vi. 1 (one of the treatises for the original translation of which Page was himself responsible, and in which he has, naturally, admitted second thoughts more freely). Here at the beginning of Chap. 6 Plotinus, speaking of the category of Relation, says (Bréhier's text) . . . ἐπισκεπτέον . . . εἰ ὑπόστασις τις ἢ σχέσις ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, ὥσπερ ὁ δεξιὸς καὶ ὁ ἀριστερός καὶ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ, ἢ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕστερον λεχθέντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πρότερον λεχθέντος οὐδεμία, ἢ οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο. The original translation ran ' . . . has Relation—for example, that of right and left, double and half—any actuality? Has it perhaps actuality in some cases only, as for instance in what is termed "posterior" but not in what is termed "prior"? Or is its actuality in no case conceivable?' The revised version substitutes for the words italicized 'as for instance in the second pair but not in the first'.

The edition is well provided with introductory matter. In addition to Dodds's admirable foreword, which says a great deal about MacKenna and his work very well in a very small space, and Page's preface already mentioned, the volume contains a good deal of MacKenna's own explanatory matter from the first edition, and an introduction by one of the most distinguished of contemporary Plotinian scholars, Professor Paul Henry, S.J. Instead of taking the usual course of giving a summary survey of Plotinus' thought (as he says, there are plenty of those available already), Henry tries to show Plotinus' place in the history of thought, 'to consider him as a link in an unbroken chain which extends from Plato to Bergson', with particular emphasis on his influence on Christian mysticism. This, in spite of a certain inevitable superficiality (inevitable because of the vastness of the field which has to be surveyed) he succeeds very well in doing. His introduction should convey to any reader something of the quite outstanding historical importance of the thought of Plotinus, and incidentally some of the reasons for its perennial attractiveness. The sections on the relationship of Plotinus to his predecessors are, however, a good deal weaker than that on Plotinus and Christian mysticism. Henry says a great deal that is interesting and valuable about Plato and Plotinus, but deals too briefly, even for so general a survey, with the influence of Aristotle and the Stoics, and says next to nothing about the Middle Platonists, about whose thought we really know a good deal more than the remarks on p. xlii would suggest—it almost looks as if a discussion of Middle Platonism had dropped out or been deleted at this point. But, notwithstanding these weaknesses, the introduction is in many ways a most stimulating and enlightening piece of work, like everything which Henry writes about Plotinus.

There is a short book-list (MacKenna brought up to date), and a table giving the sources of Plotinus' more important quotations and allusions.

A PHILOSOPHICAL REFERENCE BOOK

GEORG THEODOR SCHWARZ: *Philosophisches Lexikon zur griechischen Literatur*. (Dalp Taschenbücher, Band 330.) Pp. 109. Bern: Francke, 1956. Paper, 2.80 Sw. fr.

THIS is an unusual book and its author is able to claim that he has no real predecessors in the task which he has set before himself. The aim of the work is to survey the whole of Greek literature down to the death of Alexander the Great, excluding the works of Aristotle, and, having done so, to arrange analytically under catch-words references to all passages of importance for the history of philosophy. Philosophy is taken in the wide sense of Weltanschauung. Thus there are entries covering, for example, 'agriculture', 'old man', 'king', and 'oracle' alongside others such as 'consciousness', 'knowledge', 'hypothesis', 'not-being', and 'false'. The catchwords (in German) are arranged in alphabetic order. A preliminary index gives some cross-references from one near synonym to another. Under each heading the references, which are said to number in all about 6,000, are introduced by an individual summary sentence—thus the first entry, omitting certain signs, reads as follows:

Ähnlich: alle Dinge sind unter sich irgendwie ä.—Pl Prt 331D/Identität ä. Dinge geeignet—Pl Tht 159A/ä. Dinge streben nach Vereinigung—Democr Fr 164/vergl. Gleichheit, Harmonie.

Such an undertaking is clearly a very ambitious one and if carried to a successful conclusion it could be of considerable value. How convenient it would be, for example, to have ready collected for use all significant references to ancient sources for such terms as *ἐπιθυμία*, let us say, or 'equality'. Some part of this usefulness is in fact achieved in the present work, but in the main it fails in its purpose through defects both in plan and in execution. The decision to use German catchwords instead of Greek is defended as convenient for those who do not know Greek and because Greek has so many synonyms. But German and other modern languages are not free from synonyms either, and an extra element of obscurity and imprecision is introduced by the use of a modern language. There are far too few main catchwords and far, far too few cross-references from words not used in the lexicon at all to those that are used in it as catchwords. Numerous as the individual references are, there would need to be far more before there would be even an approach to completeness, and completeness is what is wanted most in a list of the kind here attempted.

One or two examples may serve to substantiate these criticisms. *Ἐπιθυμία* we find dealt with under 'Begierde', with a cross-reference at the end to 'Leidenschaft', but no entry for 'Wunsch' or 'Verlangen' or any similar word. Under 'Begierde' we have twenty-one references to Plato and one to Xenophon and no others. Why not a reference to the Pythagoreans—Diels-Kranz vol. i, p. 375, 3 ff., or Antiphon B44, col. 3, 15 ff. for a start? If one is concerned with the problem of Identity, one finds 'Identität s. Gleichheit', but none of the entries under 'Gleichheit' has anything to say about Identity. If one is concerned with *ἐμμετρία* in its various aspects one must go to the entry under 'Ähnlich' already cited with the further references to 'Gleichheit' and to 'Harmonie'. None of these mentions any pre-Socratic earlier than Antiphon; they do not mention Speusippus. The reference to the *Theaetetus* 159 a needs to be corrected by reference to other passages in Plato, e.g. *Rep.* i. 349 d, before

we have a proper picture of Plato's way of talking about *ἐμποιήτης*. Thus, while it is valuable to be reminded of references which one may have forgotten or never have had occasion to note, one cannot go to the lexicon with any expectation that one will find all or even most of the passages which one will have to consider when dealing with the history and development of an idea or set of ideas.

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GREEK EPISTOLOGRAPHY

HEIKKI KOSKENNIEMI: *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, tom. 102. 2.) Pp. 214. Helsinki: Finnish Academy, 1956. Paper, 800 mk.

THE papyrological discoveries of the past sixty years have resulted in the publication of many collections of papyrus-letters and monographs on their form and style. But the seemingly impassable gulf between the papyrus-letter, on the one hand, and the literary epistolographers and theorists of epistolography, on the other, has hitherto discouraged any large-scale attempt at synthesis. After allowing for such accidental factors as the preoccupation of the private letters on papyrus with everyday matters and the relatively low standard of education reached by their writers, and after classifying literary letters in three groups, (i) letters, mostly spurious, of historical personages. (ii) purely fictitious compositions of the kind found in, for example, Alciphron and Aelian, (iii) the collections of the great fourth-century epistolographers, Koskenniemi finds real grounds for a comparison between the characteristic features and style of the papyrus-letters and those exhibited in his third group.

Starting off from an inquiry into the theoretical conception of the letter, he goes on to explore the extent to which it found practical expression in epistolary phraseology, and discovers three characteristic traits both in the papyrus-letter and, *mutatis mutandis*, in its stylized counterpart, which, at least in technical phraseology, it resembles: the persistence of traditional forms, the adherence to stereotyped phrases and formulas, and the extraordinarily large place given to what he calls *das Philophronetische*. The underlying purpose of letter-writing, in theory and practice, was the promotion of human intercourse by a method analogous to conversation; indeed, later theory came to regard the letter as a substitute for the living presence of the writer, a conception whose influence is traceable in phraseology. It is not surprising, therefore, that the significant moment in the process of correspondence was not that of composition but that of receipt, but it is surprising that, with so personal a motive, the papyrus-letter should have been forced largely by its addiction to traditional formulas into a quite impersonal mould—the closer the relationship between correspondents, the more stereotyped the phraseology employed.

Generalizations based on evidence limited to a corner of the Hellenized world must be accepted with reserve; but undoubtedly there is a considerable body of material for comparative study, a thorough examination of which may well justify the conclusion that the Greek letter on papyrus, though admittedly *sui generis*, is still broadly reminiscent, both in form and phraseology, of Greek

epistolography in general. Not all of Koskenniemi's judgements on points of detail—on the form and phraseology of the papyrus-letter, the theory of epistolography expounded in the rhetoricians and implied in the masters of Greek, and even Latin, epistolography, and the practice advocated by the handbooks on letter-writing—will meet with agreement, but at least they are arguable and supported by an extensive knowledge of the whole field. Only one general criticism may be made: the author's tendency to repetition and the rather pompous emphasis of the obvious, probably inevitable in treating a subject of this kind, are none the less irritating to the *assiduous lector*. There is room for judicious pruning in this book; but it is, for all that, a neat and careful production, with but a handful of minor lapses in orthography and accentuation, and a valuable prolegomenon to that history of Greek epistolography which still awaits a writer.

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A VERSE TRANSLATION OF THE *GEORGICS*

SMITH PALMER BOVIE: *Virgil's Georgics*. A modern English verse translation. Pp. xxx+112. Chicago: University Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1956. Cloth, 28s. net.

THIS translation, by the Assistant Professor of English at Barnard College, is elegantly and far too expensively produced. In his introduction the writer makes interesting points on the relationship of Virgil to Lucretius, and on the Aristaeus-episode; he draws a suggestive analogy between the *Georgics* and the poetry of Robert Frost. But we learn too that Virgil may have attended the Conference of Tarentum; the poem ('a verse treatise on Roman farming') was regarded by the 'promising' poet as a 'tall order' and as 'rather an outlandish assignment'; it is 'sprinkled with reworkings and imitations of Hesiod'; it may seem difficult because 'there is no review of the subject matter at regular intervals'. Lucretius' poem was a 'verse essay'. Orpheus was 'traditionally associated with agriculture'. The bees show that '*drive* is identical with *will*', a point which 'must have been rather delicious' to the Roman reader.

The publishers state that 'the imaginative and intellectual unity of the *Georgics* is sustained by strict blank verse and an idiom consistently modern'. But take, for example, these individual lines: 'Come, Minerva, patron of the olive'; 'War in Germany, and in the East'; 'Rise in deference; Argitis Minor'; 'Heaping up cadavers in the stalls'; 'Arethusa raised her golden head': *strict* blank verse? 'Modern' idiom certainly appears: the bees are plunged 'in the drink'; *regio* is 'locale', *vilis* 'low-grade'; a man 'rows his skiff against the current, Touch and go'; the Zodiac is a line of 'tandem constellations'; the defeated bull mourns his 'loss of face'; 'cheese' is used as a verb; Aristaeus is Arethusa's 'protégé' and is 'citing' her for cruelty. On the other hand, what of 'guidon' for *signum*? And in mid-scale, we find 'non-innocuous charms' and 'dubious Mars'. The general impression given is not one of modernity, in the sense in which Day Lewis is modern. There are some unfortunate echoes: perhaps 'his tale of idle tears' (iv. 375) is defensible, though there is nothing Tennysonian in Aristaeus' situation or behaviour; but 'a drowsy numbness'

(iii. 523) will never do for the *stupor* of a dying bull, and 'Oh to be wafted away' (ii. 486) inevitably suggests Gilbert's absurd 'black Aceldama of sorrow'. The writing is often flat ('I've often noticed, too, that seeds go bad | Though sorted and inspected carefully'), and the comparative rarity of enjambement makes for monotony (contrast i. 316 ff. with the Latin).

Yet there are redeeming good things: e.g. 'Now you will hear the crows / Chanting their soft refrains from narrow throats / And chattering high in the leaves from lofty nests / Beside themselves with some exceptional joy' (i. 410 ff.); 'but the raw earth gleams beneath the driving plough' (ii. 211); 'light alders bob along the spinning Po' (ii. 451 f.); 'awkward bears' (iii. 247). And there are passages as direct and clear-cut as this (iii. 537-50):

Wolves ceased to prowl at night around the fold,
For sharper worries preyed upon their minds;
The timid roe and flying stag made friends
With hounds and wandered all around the farms.
The brood of the mighty sea was washed ashore
Like flotsam from a shipwreck, and the seals
Escaped to unfamiliar inland streams.
The viper died defenseless in her lair
And water snakes, their scales erect in fear.
Birds found the air too heavy for their wings
And, plunging earthward, left their lives aloft.
Change of pasture made no difference
And remedies effected only harm;
The masters of the healing arts gave up.

Mr. Bovie's translation does not suggest an origin in emotional experience, such as moved Day Lewis to make his version or inspired the fine French rendering by Paul Auguste Nicolas. But, though seldom distinguished, it has grace and honesty, and the responsibility that deserves respect. A modern translator is read by a far wider public than of old, but by a public that may know nothing of the ancient tongues and may not care one jot for them. He owes a special duty to his author accordingly. I have lately read an encomium of 'the tremendous life-giving qualities' of Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis*, written by a responsible critic who admits his ignorance of Greek and who spells the name of Sophocles' play incorrectly (*Encounter*, no. 43, p. 86): there lurks danger, clearly signalled.

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VESTIGIA NVLLA RETRORSVM

P. Ovidii Nasonis *Ibis*: iterum edidit et scholia adiecit F. W. LENZ. (Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum.) Pp. liv+187. Turin: Paravia, 1956. Paper, L. 1,400.

P. Ovidii Nasonis *Haliutica-Fragmenta-Nux*; Incerti *Consolatio ad Liviam*: iterum edidit F. W. LENZ. (Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum.) Pp. 214. Turin: Paravia, 1956. Paper. L. 1,400.

IN the *Ibis* Lenz presents the not very satisfactory text of his first edition of 1937 virtually unchanged, so far as I can discover, except for the expulsion of the erroneous *sumpsit* at 287. The apparatus criticus, on the other hand, which

even when it had to deal with a mere fifteen manuscripts was by no means a paragon of economy, now sprawls over two-thirds and more of most pages, recording with idiot zeal and impartiality the aberrations of forty-three witnesses of widely varying age and credibility. The purpose of an apparatus criticus ought to be apparent from its name: does Lenz, does anyone, seriously suppose that in order to judge what Ovid wrote at *Ibis* 140 we require to know that *seuea* is found for *saeua* in one manuscript of the fifteenth century? Admittedly Ovid's tradition presents special problems, but the arguments which Lenz employs in support of his practice (p. xviii) cannot defend the accumulation of rubbish of this kind. Criticism must have its Hunterian Museums, but their place is in handbooks, prefaces, and appendixes, not on the author's page.

The preface to the *Ibis* incorporates a good deal of new material, somewhat formlessly presented. Lenz has now been able to make a careful examination of F (Frankfurt Barth. 110), a difficult witness to date and assess: I doubt, for instance, if one can really distinguish between variants and glosses in it by the presence or absence of *f*. (p. x). P₁ (Par. lat. 7994) now receives fuller discussion: Lenz is right to stress (p. xvii) the peculiar nature of some of its readings, which are often intrinsically excellent (e.g. in the *A.A.* at ii. 269 *columba*, which may well be right, and at ii. 726 *desere*, which at any rate makes sense against the absurd *desine*, which editors prefer, though I suspect that the truth is *defice*; P₁ was one of the manuscripts in which Heinsius found *palma* at i. 727, which has persisted in the editions with sense and authority against it). P₂ (Par. lat. 7997) is a curious manuscript (p. xxxii), which deserves more attention than it has yet had. Mr. J. Wardrop, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, who is kindly examining my photographs of it, tells me that it is in the hand of Bartolomeo Sanvito: I hope that its provenance may throw light on such matters as the source of its text of *Her.* 21. 13-144, its marginal variants, and its agreements with PR in the amatory works. It is curious that Lenz has apparently overlooked Dijon 497, one of the most important of Ovid's *recentiores*¹. The puzzle propounded on p. xxxiv was solved by five minutes in the Bodleian: whatever actually stands in the manuscript at *Ibis* 600, Heinsius thought that he found *Orpheus* in Vat. lat. 2787. (The answer is in his collations in Auct. S. v. 9, pp. 364 and 382.)

No change of moment seems to have been made either in the text and apparatus of the Scholia, except for the editor's *caesaque* for *scissaque* at *E* 293, or in their preface.

The volume of apocrypha is likewise in the main a reprint of the edition of 1939. The preface to the *Halieutica* is enlarged to notice Axelson's important article in *Eranos* (1945), but Lenz's own views remain unchanged. It would depress me more than it does to read the words 'opus vere Ovidianum esse nunc inter omnes fere constat' (p. 3) if I thought that they were true.² The text is substantially unchanged, even to the spectral *nitens* of 104. In the Fragments the continued citations of *Am.* iii. 1. 26 with *facta* (p. 49) and ii. 1. 12 with

¹ I was hasty in saying (*C.R.*, n.s. v. 14, n. 1) that this manuscript shows no affinity with PS: there are in fact remarkable agreements. It does not do to stress them in such a tradition, but it is safe to say that together with Leipzig Rep. I, fol. 7 and Linz 329 this is one of the most useful of the hitherto neglected witnesses for the text of the *Amores*.

² I abstain from saying more on this head since in Mr. J. A. Richmond the authenticity of this fragment seems likely to find a redoubtable assailant. It is to be hoped that the conclusions of his powerfully argued dissertation, which I have been privileged to see, will be published before long in a suitable form.

Gygen (p. 67) in the text do not encourage one to hope for much from Lenz's forthcoming *Amores* (*Eranos*, liii. 65, n. 1). The *Nux* is the *Ibis* over again: there are some changes here, but grotesques like *deiecto cortice* (38) persist in the text, and the apparatus is swollen by the advent of seventeen new witnesses, bringing the total to thirty-nine. The *Consolatio* continues to offer two samples of editorial judgement which I fear are not untypical: at 391 *Germani* interpreted as genitive singular, and at 260 *facilis uoluit* accepted from fifteenth-century manuscripts as nominative plural. These are only two of the places where the meditations of nearly twenty years might have been expected to produce second thoughts.

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THE LOEB PLINY

Pliny: *Natural History*. Volume vii (Books xxiv-xxvii.) Translated by W. H. S. JONES. (Loeb Classical Library.) Pp. xiv+558. London: Heinemann, 1956. Cloth, 15s. net.

BOOKS xxiv-xxvii consist almost entirely of descriptions of wild shrubs and plants, together with their medical properties and the prescriptions in which they were used. To translate and explain such books would for most of us be a thankless task. Dr. Jones has, however, carried out his work with the learning, skill, and devotion which we expect of him. He has also brought to it a vitality which belies his years, and an untiring determination to refuse easy solutions which compels us to think for ourselves. To read this volume is to study Pliny with Jones, and this is a most stimulating experience.

The text is based on Detlefsen and Mayhoff where they agree, but Detlefsen is often preferred where they do not. Many of Mayhoff's emendations are rejected as unnecessary (e.g. xxiv. 35 *spatiatis* is well defended against *spasticis*, and xxv. 8 *fors varia* against *socordia*), and others as dubious (e.g. xxiv. 72 *restituitur*). The editor's decision is usually convincing, although occasionally, as with the brilliant *imbricitrice* (xxvi. 16), one feels that Mayhoff has more in his favour than is implied.

Jones is modestly reluctant to propose emendations of his own and, where he does so, often excludes them from his text (e.g. xxvii. 5 *veneno praesenti intus invento*). Some, however, are admitted, notably xxiv. 96 *aureum pоторium*, xxv. 2 *quorum*, xxv. 27 *<posse> effossam*, and xxvi. 4 *acciditque contra*. A few conjectures are contributed by Professor Warmington. Among these is the attractive *sistit cariem, caris* (a misprint for *cavis*?) *exesi <si> imprimitur* (xxv. 170).

In xxv. 129 *ex hoc perunctos* (et Mayhoff, Jones) could possibly be retained with the sense 'those rubbed with a mixture containing it'. In xxvi. 13 Warmington's *facientibus cunctis velut* (ut codd.) *essent vera quas facillima erant* is neat, and Jones is right in saying that *favere ut* cannot mean 'favour the belief that'. But could we not translate 'all in their partiality deciding that what was easiest must be true'? This is undoubtedly mannered, but not uncharacteristic of Pliny.

The translation is notable for its clarity, scrupulous accuracy, and careful attention to nuances (e.g. xxv. 9 *hortulus* 'his special garden'). Wherever, as is so often the case in this part of the *N.H.*, the loose sentence-structure allows of alternative renderings, Jones gives the second in a footnote. This is one of the

methods used for inviting readers to co-operate and decide for themselves. Another is the footnote expressed as a query. In xxiv. 43, where the editor asks if it was the father or his daughter who refused drastic treatment, the word-order seems to point to the daughter.

A few renderings call for comment: xxiv. 149 *adeo* . . . *prodesse* not 'so beneficial' but 'all the more beneficial'; xxv. 57 *balnearum dispensatione* 'regulating the bath' (as to time and temperature?) rather than 'superintending the bath'; xxvii. 57 *coniectura* hardly 'by soothsayers' with nothing in the context to indicate this, but simply 'through an inference' (made from observing the behaviour of the plant); xxvii. 83 *circumlita* not 'lined' with clay but 'luted' or 'stopped' with it; xxvii. 99 *tam exquisita difficultas lapidis ex herba nascentis* surely not just 'very exquisite and difficult the birth of a gem from a plant!' but something like 'so elegantly solved is the problem of causing a gem to grow from a plant': Pliny has just compared the arrangement of the 'gems' to genuine jewellery.

The footnotes are brief, but always helpful. On p. 20 (xxiv. 23) the difficulty can be removed if we suppose that the gum ammoniac was heated in a flame so as to be softened before being moulded to the tooth. A similar procedure is used today with temporary stoppings of gutta-percha. At xxiv. 7 or elsewhere a note on *axungia* 'axle-grease', the basis of many ointments, would have been welcome. Was it usually pork-fat, as is implied in xxviii. 135?

In this volume we find an index of plants (foreshadowed in vol. vi as 'a colossal task' and now successfully completed with the assistance of Professor A. C. Andrews); and finally, less detailed but hardly less useful, a glossary of diseases.

There are very few misprints: xxiv. 151 *et* (*et*); xxv. 154 *bidenda* (*bibenda*); xxv. 174 *factorem* (*factorem*); xxvii. 31 *praecordis* (*praecordiis*); p. 477 οἶνον (οἶνιν); p. 479 Aegypt.

Fides speaks to us from every page of this admirable volume.

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A NEW APPROACH TO GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE

JOSHUA WHATMOUGH: *Poetic, Scientific and other Forms of Discourse. A New Approach to Greek and Latin Literature.* (Sather Classical Lectures, vol. xxix.) Pp. xii+285. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1956. Cloth, 37s. 6d. net.

To deal impatiently with Professor Whatmough's Sather Lectures would be easy, partly from the resistance which is the result, perhaps even the purpose, of a polemical style, partly because of their frequent obscurity and their many passages of apparent irrelevance and incoherence. Yet it would be a misfortune if impatience led the reader to underestimate the challenge which they bring to linguists and students of literature, and among these to classical scholars.

Whatmough can write with directness and lucidity, for example in explaining the difference between symbol and sign (p. 116). It is the more regrettable that he does not always do so; much of his book is for one reason or another

difficult to follow. After taking literary critics to task for meaningless use of metaphor, he himself (p. 27) blends simile and metaphor to produce a strange identification of the light of knowledge with the torch of life's relay-race (*lampada uitae tradens*), and clinches his point with an assertion, literally false and therefore metaphorically misleading, that 'light always casts a shade'. His expression, even when not figurative, is sometimes highly imprecise. He writes (p. 62) '*jueg* as in Sanskrit *yundkti*' and three lines later '*ieu-n-eg* in Sanskrit *yundkti*'; or again, 'if you take the root that occurs in Latin *seco* and extend it with *eff* and insert the nasal infix, and then add to that a *d*-formant (or, as it is now regarded, a phonematic pattern with *d*) plus the *té*-participial ending, you will necessarily get a substantival form, namely *scissum*, side by side with *scindo*'. Even if the non-specialist grasps the general point of this recipe, he may still wonder how the *-i-* of *scissum* has got into the mixture and what, in the final result, has become of the third ingredient (the nasal infix). Whatmough is not confused, but he is likely to confuse his readers. When the specialist observes such inexactitudes in a familiar field, he is disposed to suspect the accuracy with which some of the mathematical statements are formulated. A more patient writer might have been content to enlighten the un-mathematical reader; Whatmough often puzzles him. It is stated (p. 37) that 'the rank of an item of vocabulary . . . stands in a constant relationship when multiplied by the frequency'. One may well ask: 'in a relationship to what?' Does Whatmough mean (as recollections of school mathematics suggest) 'rank multiplied by frequency is a constant'? Parameters, which are introduced a few lines later, are not explained on this page, to which alone the index, s.v. parameter, refers, but at some length on p. 224, which the index ignores. Critical of the controversy about *pius Aeneas*, Whatmough observes (p. 102): 'To seek a precise referential relationship such as the pro-presenting elements give in the lexical scheme of *pius* and the rest is mischievous.' Such language is likely to make understanding difficult for many of the readers to whom the book is chiefly addressed. An interesting source of obscurity is the use, not of technical terms, but of ordinary words in a technical context, for example (p. 120) 'the formal dimension of fitness (contrast, recurrence, variation, equilibrium and selection) is in itself both *significant* and *functional*' (reviewer's italics: means *what*? Performs *what* function?). School algebra might, with some help, have served to interpret the graphs. Graph 1, on p. 16, is more or less explained on p. 239; graph 9, on p. 239, is explained nowhere. To what linguistic features do its changes of slope correspond?

Whatmough's attitude to traditional literary criticism and scholarship is forthright. He illustrates from his own career a growing dissatisfaction with most criticism, both literary ('meaningless rubbish') and textual ('no longer a man's work'). His condemnation of literary criticism, which entails some exaggeration of its faults, is based on the fact that it is subjective (and subjectivity is assumed to be bad) and worthless 'compared with reading the original works in their original language' (p. 194). But this comparison is not one which a sensible person would make, and all would agree that reading works of criticism is worthless as a substitute for reading the original works. Further, 'a work of literature is comprehended by a single act of understanding not to be had by assigning and adding up "points" after the manner of judges in an agricultural show'. This is probably idealistic dogma; but if it is not, it does not follow that a *single* act is always a *simple* act; it may require preparation,

to which traditional subjective criticism may have something to contribute. Whatmough rightly deplors (pp. 201 ff.) waste of time and energy on unprofitable questions, without seeming to reflect that there may be differences of opinion about what makes a question worth investigating. He brands as 'quibbles' the questions of the authorship of the *Satyricon* and of the authenticity of certain Platonic epistles, yet in an earlier lecture considers at some length the authenticity of certain letters of Byron, despite the fact that 'the letters themselves are too brief to warrant a statistical investigation, which could furnish neither proof nor disproof' (p. 171). Who is to pronounce on the importance or relevance of the question, to which he gives much space, whether Byron visited Hopwood Hall in 1823, or of the anecdotes about the history of Rochdale and the activities, attested or conjectured, of Ailse o' Fussers?

Whatmough's conviction is that the study of the classical languages and literatures, as of language and literature in general, must undergo a change of method and aim, if the present breach between science and the humanities is to be closed. He sees the basis for unity in the formal aspect of language: granted the differences between the languages of science and poetry, yet 'I do not believe that there can be a trenchant, all-exclusive, division between scientific and other, in particular poetic, discourse' (p. 126). The chief need is for a scientific, that is a mathematical, linguistics, and, built upon it, a scientific aesthetics the statements of which will have objective validity. The mathematical techniques required are those of statistics and probability, as already used in Information Theory and Communication Theory, together with General System Theory. It is possible, for example, to determine the degree of probability, i.e. expectedness, of each element in a linguistic sequence, say of each word in a sentence. This and similar procedures will, Whatmough believes, provide new criteria by which 'criticism, being redeemed from hopeless subjectivity, may reach hypotheses and results that will be universally accepted' (p. 131). Again, as the scientific study of smell has two stages, first the sensory appraisal of a given odour, second the chemical analysis of the substance producing it, so scientific criticism will consist in 'first choice and evaluation, then observation of the regularity of structure, order of arrangement, symmetry of the total expression *S* in terms *P*' (p. 134; *S* and *P* stand for 'science' and 'poetry' and their respective adjectives). Consequently 'students of language in all its manifestations' (including, of course, literature) 'are now faced with the necessity of making careful study of the theory of chance, of statistics and probability' (p. 192); a heavy imposition, but nevertheless accepted by students in other fields, not only physics or engineering, but many of the social sciences also.

Undoubtedly such methods can make an important, perhaps revolutionary, contribution to the study of language, and reveal hardly suspected aspects of literary form and style. One may still question whether Whatmough is right in claiming that the new methods must supplant the old—e.g. 'we shall need a suitable statistical terminology, which will supplant the critical and grammatical terminology that goes back to the days of Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*' (p. 192). He does not entertain the possibility that both methods and both terminologies have their place, just as the statement 'it's a fine day' is not supplanted by the readings of the meteorologist's instruments. He maintains that 'the only concrete measure of fitness is statistical' (p. 119), but shows elsewhere that he does not regard quantitative statements alone as useful or interest-

ing. His ultimate object is one which already receives increasing allegiance—'to diminish the gap between the sciences and the humanities as fields of study, and to lead to a unity of knowledge that will further communication, where now the separation of knowledge into natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities only hinders it' (p. 192). But should even the ideal of unity command unquestioning loyalty? Whatmough writes 'the trisection which splits one world into three, as known to natural science, social science, and the humanities, must be rejected' (p. 193). Must it be rejected if, by making one world into three, we thereby enrich life with greater variety of experience? Whatever may be the answer to this, Whatmough's attitude is, if not humanistic (in his sense), thoroughly humane. Form and order have for him clearly a moral value; they are embodied in language, and linguistic order 'reaches its highest level in literary form' (p. 264); 'language and literature alike partake of the cosmos and furnish an exit from the anarchy and disorder of human societies' (p. 232). This faith (his eighth lecture, on Classical Humanism, is entitled 'Confessio Fidei') rests on a mathematical basis, the principle of negentropy, which maintains systems in good order. (To its most extreme formulation, 'Language, like life, seems to have been in its origin a supreme form of symbolism' (ibid.), may be addressed the down-to-earth question 'What did life originally symbolize, and for whom?'). Throughout his lectures Whatmough is concerned with form, but affirms his belief (p. 264) that for our technological age the chief value of the classical literatures 'lies in their spiritual and moral worth', and that 'there must always be a few who are equipped to reinterpret the literature to their own generation' (yet note his repeated contention that translation is impossible and commentaries are harmful!).

This review has considered only some general aspects of a book both complex in form and varied in content. Another and much longer review would be needed to deal with Whatmough's numerous excursions into metre, the Homeric question, the language of Hipponax and of Catullus, the Indo-European origins and Mediterranean milieu of Greek, Linear B, *pious Aeneas*, 'Επέλια γράμματα, and very much besides. Readers' reactions will no doubt be diverse, but one should be common to all: admiration of a veteran scholar who can embrace new disciplines and scan new horizons with all the enthusiasm of youth.

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GREEK VOCABULARY

PIERRE CHANTRAINE: *Études sur le vocabulaire grec*. (Études et Commentaires, 24.) Pp. 186. Paris: Klincksieck, 1956. Paper, 1,800 fr.

THE appearance of M. Chantraine's book calls to mind M. Ernout's *Aspects du vocabulaire latin* [1954; see *C.R.* lxi. 294], and it appears in the same series *Études et Commentaires*. But the difference in the titles shows clearly the difference in treatment. Ernout's book, though not much larger, was wider in its scope and touched the vocabulary of Latin at many different points. Chantraine's book consists of three separate studies, the first of which is indeed entitled *Aspects du vocabulaire grec*. They are not closely connected with each other not

do they bear much resemblance to each other except that which arises from their common origin in the mind and hand of one of the acknowledged masters both of the Greek language and of good writing.

The first study is of a very general character and was originally a lecture delivered in Paris at the Institut de Linguistique. Stressing chiefly the intellectual aspects of Greek vocabulary, the writer illuminates one topic after another—I.E. and non-I.E. elements, survival of archaic types of noun (much less marked than in Latin), innovations called for by the development of political institutions, familiar words 'doubling' more literary words, suffixes with derogatory implications, the extension of intellectual vocabulary in the fifth century, here anticipating to some extent the third of the studies—the suffix *-ικός*.

This suffix, apart from its use to form adjectives from proper names, was comparatively little used in the time of Aeschylus; it is more frequent in Thucydides than in Herodotus. Its rapid extension can be traced clearly to the latter half of the fifth century and to the intellectual climate of that time. It was extremely useful in dialogue of the Socratic type and is immensely more frequent in Plato than in any writer before him. And, says M. Chantraine (p. 100), it is to Plato that we must look if we wish to understand the immense extension which this suffix incurred in the learned vocabulary of Greek, from which it passed into Latin and then into a large number of European languages. It thus forms an excellent topic for this type of study; it illustrates the perpetual interplay of language and thought, the Greek origin of many of our European intellectual habits, and the importance of linguistic study in a classical education.

But while it is to Plato's great influence on subsequent thought and speech that we must ascribe these developments, their origin must be sought in the generation before Plato. And nowhere is this better seen than in the plays of Aristophanes, who often ridicules the young intellectuals of his time and parodies their excessive fondness for words in *-ικός*. To say *ἀνδρικότατος*, *θυμοσοφικός* in place of the more usual *ἀνδρείστατος*, *θυμόσοφος* gives quite a different flavour to the speech, the kind of flavour affected by the young intellectual fops, τὰ μεράκια τῶν τῷ μῦθῳ (*Knights* 1375). The rest of this passage from the *Knights* is a kind of *locus classicus* for this topic and M. Chantraine refers to it more than once (pp. 21 and 98). Here Aristophanes is creating some new terms: *συνεργικός*, *περαντικός*, *γνωμοτυπικός*, *θορυβητικός*, *λαλητικός*—these are all 'des mots inventés par le poète pour l'amusement du spectateur'. It is not easy to find good equivalents in another language for these new creations; and even for *καταληπτικός*, which is no neologism, it seems to the reviewer that M. Chantraine is at fault in translating it 'hypnotiseur'. One does not silence an interrupter by hypnotizing him but by pouncing on him. And is *κρουστικός* really 'charmeur'? In any case both terms should be interpreted alongside *κατάληψις* and *κρούσις*, which occur in *Clouds* 318. Most of the words which Aristophanes coined for the amusement of his audience died at birth. Their importance for the history of the language lies not in themselves but in the evidence which they provide of the freedom with which speakers and writers could exploit the resources of their own tongue.

A suffix in isolation signifies nothing; it has to await its inclusion with another morpheme. A comparison of the occurrences of all the words with a certain suffix will show a general similarity from one word to another. In this way one

can arrive a kind of meaning for the suffix; but one needs to remember, first that much will depend on the *kind* of word to which the suffix is added and the adjective applied; and second, that the multiplication of words in -ικός meant more and more extension in the force of the suffix. M. Chantraine's exposition would have gained much in value and in exactitude if he had kept these two points more in mind and had classified his examples accordingly. His primary aim is to determine 'la fonction même de -ικός dans la structure de la langue' (p. 101). For this purpose he directs our attention first to the texts of Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, and Thucydides, before going on to deal with the Platonic creations in the *Sophistes* and the *Politicus*. It is important to examine the functions of -ικός before the philosophers made it their plaything. Its use with proper names came first. The ancient grammarians were well aware that nouns and adjectives derived from proper names were not all of the same type; they distinguished ἔθνικὰ from κτητικὰ. Words ending in -ικός belong to the latter class; they do not directly denote racial origin, like Ἑλλήν, but 'belonging to a people or clan', Ἑλληνικός. It would seem (p. 105) that in contrast to adjectives in -ιος, -εος, which expressed belonging to an individual (νῆ' Ἀγαμέμνονέν, δόμον Πηλεΐδον), those in -ικός imply belonging to a group. Further (p. 106), the suffix -ικός generally furnishes adjectives derived from the name used for an inhabitant, not from the name of a country, Σκόθ-ης Σκυθ-ικός, Μεγαρ-εύς Μεγαρ-ικός. If the name for the inhabitant is not in -ης or -εύς but in -ιος, the adjectival suffix normally takes the form -ιακός: Κόρινθος Κορινθίος Κορινθιακός, Αἴγυπτος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰγυπτιακός. The existence of Βοιωτός alongside Βοιώτιος gave rise to Βοιωτικός alongside Βοιωτιακός. Of course this scheme is constantly breaking down; we find Μηλιεύς κόλπος no less frequently than the more 'correct' Μηλιακός κόλπος. But despite the numerous fluctuations and anomalies there is enough to show that the original function of the *ketika* in -ικός was to denote membership of a group or class.

So too with those derived from common nouns. For already in the early period there were plenty of adjectives of the type βασιλικός, ναυτικός, ξενικός, ναυτικός, and these fit well into the author's scheme as belonging to the class named. But, as has just been pointed out, the nature of the class, and therefore the function of -ικός, cannot be determined until the expression is complete. There is a big difference between βασιλικὸν γένος, Aesch. *P.V.* 869 and βασιλικῶν θαλάμων, Eurip. *Ion* 486 (p. 116) and between πατρικὴ βασιλεία, πατρικός φίλος and πατρικαὶ ἀρεταί (p. 129), even though we may translate πατρικός by 'hereditary' in each case. It seems to the reviewer that already before Plato the scope and function of the suffix had widened far more than the author expressly admits. 'Belonging to' (l'appartenance) is now quite regularly 'characteristic of' or even 'composed of' (ναυτικὸν στρατεύμα) and soon too 'capable of'. Nor is this really surprising when we consider the functioning of the Greek genitive case, for which all these substantively derived adjectives are substitutes or alternatives. The relationship expressed between two nouns, one of which is in the genitive case, is now one thing now another, and the same is true of the adjectival substitute. An interesting fact, revealed by M. Chantraine, is that, while you could easily substitute Ὀμηρικὸν γένος for γένος Ὀμήρου, it was only in the fourth century that expressions like Ὀμηρικὰ ἔπη became accepted as a substitute for Ὀμήρου ἔπη. The exact function of the suffix becomes known at the moment of its functioning. Certainly -ικός has 'une valeur catégorisante', but that is hardly more than a truism, expressing

the adjectival function in general. The value of this part of M. Chantraine's book is very great, greater indeed than his modest pretensions would suggest. He has done something far more useful and important than argue about the original function of *-ικός*; he has made important contributions to the lexicography of the future.

This is equally true, though in a different way, of the second of these studies—'le vocabulaire de la chasse'. But it is not, as its title might suggest, a semantic study of a particular field of activity. The author is not concerned with types of dogs or nets or other paraphernalia of the chase, but with problems of etymology and lexicography. Space forbids more than a brief indication of these. First there is the group *ἄγω ἀγέλη ἀγελαῖος*. Is this cognate with the group *ἄρπός ἀρπόμενος ἄρπιος*? And what then is the position of *ἄρπα* 'capture'? Many secondary derivatives of these are discussed and classified, words ending in *-αρπα* and *-αρπος*, *ἀρπάζω* and *ἀρπεύω*. If the idea of 'catching' lies behind these, the idea of 'pursuit' seems uppermost in those derived from *θήρ*—*θήρα*, *θηράω*, *θηρεύω*, &c. But in themselves these imply no particular *method* of pursuit, as do quite obviously *ἰχνεύω* and *κυνηγετέω*. Now this latter is clearly a denominative verb from *κυνηγέτης*, which is Homeric and which brings us back to the starting-point—*ἄγω*, or is it *ἡγεῖσθαι*? In any case *κυνηγέτης* and *κυνηγετεῖν* gave way in Ptolemaic times to *κυνηγός* and *κυνηγεῖν*.

There are some excellent *obiter dicta* and occasional notes, and these add greatly to the pleasure of reading the book; references even to Mycenaean Greek, to the New Testament, to modern French, and to modern Greek. One is glad to see brought to mind again the saying 'Le grec est une langue où *vin* s'écrit *οἶνος* et se prononce *κρασί*'.

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A LATIN BOTANICAL LEXICON

JACQUES ANDRÉ: *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*. (Études et Commentaires, 23.) Pp. 343. Paris: Klincksieck, 1956. Paper, 3,000 fr.

THE lack of a comprehensive lexicon of Latin plant-names, which this volume is intended to remedy, is unlikely to be accidental. If lexicography was dull work even to Dr. Johnson, it is far worse than dull work when it is beset by as many difficulties as is this particular form of it. In reviewing the outcome of André's very great labours it would be easy to accuse him of rushing in where others, equally conscious of the need for such a work, have feared to tread: but granted that the result is not nearly as definitive as the title might lead one to hope, it is fair to add at once that André himself, when writing of the project in 1951 (*R.É.L.* xxix. 80–82), described his aim as no more than a *base de départ* for scholars—though the preface to the work as it has now appeared is not quite so modest.

Yet it is doubtful whether a work of the form now before us is the best, or indeed a suitable, way of providing a *base de départ*. The task André set himself was to arrange in lexicographical form (with references, but practically no quotations) all Latin botanical terms, including such Greek terms as were not mere transliterations in Latin, found in extant writings from the earliest times down to the eighth and ninth century A.D.; to collect the synonyms and dis-

tinguish the homonyms, with appropriate philological explanations; to give French and Linnaean equivalents wherever possible; and to provide bibliographical references. A task of this kind would be formidable for any technical vocabulary: it is all the more formidable for botany, in view both of the bulk and of the limitations of the evidence; and anything approaching a definitive lexicon could only be within one man's reach if there were available a long series of careful preliminary studies. That André is not unaware of this is shown by some of his own work outside the present volume (e.g. *R.É.L.* xxxii [1954], 174 ff.; *Rev. de Phil.* xxx [1956], 62 ff.); but the preliminary material at present available is wholly insufficient, and it must be added that much useful work that has appeared is not cited by André. (Pauly-Wissowa articles, especially where the German lemma differs from the Latin name, provide the most obvious, but by no means the only, example of this.)

André's work, the enormous scope of which is evident even from a first glance, is intended to be both a collection of the material and an interpretation of it; and at this stage it is the first of these two aspects that is the more important if scholars are to have their *base de départ*. The sheer mass of the evidence, complicated as it is by an almost infinite variety of variant spellings, mis-spellings, and textual corruptions of every kind, is bewildering, and as a collection of it this book will undoubtedly prove useful—even if it only serves to remind us of the bulk of Latin botanical (or pharmacological) literature belonging to the early Middle Ages and of its relevance to the understanding of the botanical vocabulary of classical Latin. No one interested in this important, but much neglected, branch of Latin studies will wish to be without this volume, although the user will often be exasperated by the inadequacy of the lists of abbreviations and of works cited (lists which are particularly important where much of the source material is *recondite* and inaccessible); by some vagaries of the alphabetical order (e.g. on pp. 13 and 342); by the frequent absence of necessary cross-references, which sometimes makes it difficult to find entries (e.g. *sicale*, *Ed. Diocl.* i. 3, appears only as a variant under *secale*; *licomonus*, *C.G.L.* iii. 567. 34, only as *licocomus*, a conjecture by André for which no other evidence is cited); by spellings arbitrarily selected; by genders, declensions, and quantities given without evidence; by an arrangement which, for example, gives separate articles to *abellana* and *cuellanus* (*sic*!) while keeping *Achilleos*, *Achillea*, and *Achillion* under the same heading; and by the considerable number of misprints and minor errors, especially in the introductory and concluding pages but also elsewhere. (The list of errata which accompanies the volume covers only a very small part of these.) The references themselves are remarkably accurate, and in checking several hundred of them I found few mistakes of any significance; but their selection is often arbitrary and at times worse than arbitrary, with the result that as a collection of the source material this book will have to be used cautiously. André's avowed guiding principle was to concentrate on the 'textes techniques', and he does not claim completeness (though a complete collection of the material might well have been the most useful *base de départ* of all). This principle, however, is clearly not applied to early and classical Latin—unless, for example, Plautus and Horace are *textes techniques*—and even for later Latin it is not easy to discover where the borderline is drawn. André himself does not tell us (nor does he distinguish hapax legomena or provide any indication for articles containing a complete list of references); but on the whole he errs on the

generous side. (Similarly he admits too many, rather than too few, Greek terms; but then one may well ask whether a strictly Latin botanical lexicon is possible at all.)

It is not so much André's selection of texts as his selection of references within a given text that is open to question, as a few examples will show. Thus, under *avena*, Plin. *N.H.* xvii. 56 (cited) is no more than a quotation of Virg. *G.* i. 77 (not cited), while 'Col. 2, 10, 24, etc.' obscures the fact that an important statement about the plant occurs in ii. 10. 32. An equation with *aegilops* in Ps.-Diosc. iv. 137 is rejected as erroneous without reference either to Pedersen, *Indog. Forsch.* v (1895), 42, or to *C.G.L.* ii. 220. 7, 493. 20, iii. 266. 71, where the same equation occurs; but an equation of *avena agrestis* and *lolium* is accepted on the basis of *C.G.L.* iii. 568. 21 and a spurious argument from silence, though Virg. *G.* i. 154 (or Aug. in *Psalm.* 64. 16) is enough to suggest that the equation is erroneous. *Bromos*—in fact the generic synonym, as André himself implies s.v. *bromos*—is given as a synonym for 'wild oats' (where *avoine sauvage* = *avena sativa* L. seems a contradiction in terms) but not for cultivated oats, in spite of *Ed. Diocl.* i. 17 (not cited, perhaps because only Blümner's edition was used) and *C.G.L.* iii. 543. 63 (not cited); and the list could be lengthened considerably, even for this one article. Again, under *far* we find 'Plin. 18, 62, etc.', *zea* being later given as the name of one species of *far*: but what of 'qui *zea* utuntur non habent *far*' in Plin. *N.H.* xviii. 82? Or, to take a typical instance from another sphere, of the list of twelve synonyms for *millefolium* in Ps.-Apul. *Herb.* 89. 12 ff. nine are given by André under *millefolium* (though not necessarily in the same spelling; e.g. Ps.-Apul. has *miriofillon*, while André prints *myriophyllon* next to *semofillon*), but the other three—*erisis* (= *χρυσότρις*, Dioscor.), *vigentia*, and *diodela*—are not. Yet all twelve have separate entries, but again not necessarily in the form in which they appear in the text. (On *diodela* and other Dacian plant-names, incidentally, a valuable section in D. Detschew's *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* [Vienna, 1957], pp. 541–65, is now available.)

These random examples are perhaps enough to indicate both the usefulness and the shortcomings of André's work as a collection of the source material. A comparison with available articles in the *Thesaurus* confirms the impression that while André's net is spread rather more widely its mesh is much less fine and its weave less regular.

As an interpretation of the evidence this book shows great learning in many fields; but again it suffers from several important defects, the most striking of which is that no distinction is normally apparent between the reliable and the unreliable, between the explicit and the inexplicit, or between the certain, the probable, and mere guesswork. If quotations or detailed discussions would have made the book too large, the minimum need was for a consistent system of symbols or typographical devices to distinguish between these categories: as it is, even the few symbols that are used (without explanation) occur inconsistently and merely cause confusion. (I have not been able to discover, for instance, what difference André intended between 'syn.', '=', and 'glosé', though all three may occur in the same article.) The result is that a name of uncertain form, occurring perhaps in a single gloss, is often indistinguishable from a well-authenticated name for which we have a full description; and the user will almost always be compelled to go back to the sources, many of which are not at all easy to obtain, before he can judge the reliability of André's

interpretations. And these interpretations are often highly complex; largely because the same term may, as the preface rightly emphasizes, have borne different meanings at different times or in different places. André therefore shows himself very ready throughout—often on the basis of what may merely be a mistake—to distinguish several senses of a word, though he rarely indicates either the temporal and geographical limitations of particular senses or the 'common denominator' that made the word appropriate to the various senses assigned to it. The passages, moreover, on which the distinctions are based often represent but a small fraction of the passages cited, and other passages, which may contain nothing to show in which sense the word is used, are then divided up between the various senses, with the result that André's distinction appears to be much better established than in fact it is. Thus, to give one typical example, 'spelta 1' is equated with *far* (i.e. *emmer*) on the basis of Hieron. in *Ezech.* 4. 9, in addition to which André cites *Ed. Diocl.* i. 7, 8 for this sense. But Diocletian's *Edict*, which, if relevant, would be much more reliable than Jerome, carries no indication that *spelta* here means *emmer* rather than *spelt* (André's 'spelta 3'). Nor, incidentally, does André give any reference to Jerome's synonym *spica*, which, if his *spelta* warrants a special entry, surely deserved mention; and although the *Edict* calls the grain in question *scandula sive spelta*, there is nothing in André to connect the entries for these two words. (The arabic numerals by which the meanings are distinguished are, moreover, often wrong in cross-references.)

Points such as these are bound to shake the user's confidence and make him reluctant to accept much in this book which otherwise he might safely have accepted. There is much here that is valuable; but much remains to be done before we shall really have a comprehensive lexicon of Latin botanical terms.

The price seems very high in comparison with other volumes in the same series, among them the same author's *Les termes de couleur dans la langue latine*.

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LATIN SYNTAX

MARIANO BASSOLS DE CLIMENT: *Sintaxis Latina*. 2 vols. Pp. xviii+408; xiii+456. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956. Cloth.

THESE two volumes provide a sound, concise, and up-to-date textbook for Spanish students of classical and mediaeval Latin. Having in view the needs not only of classical scholars but also of researchers into mediaeval Latin texts, the author has continued his historical account into the period of decadence, with sections on the Latin grammatical legacy of Romance languages in general and Spanish in particular. This purpose of the work, and the restrictions imposed by the scope of the series to which he is contributing, have made Professor Bassols de Climent's account of classical Latin syntax rather more concise than one would have wished. The Latin examples are cut down to a minimum and references are given only to the author. This is a great mistake in a work of this scope, for the reader should be given a chance of looking up the examples and checking their validity in the light of the context.

Volume i contains a short introduction on the parts of syntax and the

historical periods into which Latin can be divided, followed by a very useful general bibliography. This is supplemented by a more detailed bibliography at the head of each chapter, and many references in footnotes throughout both volumes. The first volume is mainly concerned with the syntax of particular forms and parts of speech, e.g. the cases, pronouns, prepositions, voices, tenses, moods, participles, and the gerund and gerundive. The second volume is concerned with the syntax of the sentence, co-ordination and subordination, and the various types of clause. There is an index of subject-matter and an index of Latin words.

The historical explanations follow in the main the lines laid down by the chief German authorities. This means that the account is generally sound, but that it perpetuates several very doubtful theories. The consecutive subjunctive (vol. ii, pp. 318 ff.) is still attributed to an original parataxis of a subjunctive of the jussive, desiderative, or deliberative type, in spite of the mental gymnastics which this involves, and the alternative theory of the American school is ignored. The Subjunctive of Repetition (vol. ii, p. 347) is still attributed to the influence of narrative-*cum* after Cicero, though this leaves unexplained such earlier examples as Caes. B.C. iii. 110. 4 *si quis a domino prehenderetur, consensu militum eripiebatur* and ii. 15. 2. The most likely explanation is that the subjunctive both with narrative-*cum* and in frequentative clauses is an extension of the descriptive or generic subjunctive. In vol. ii, pp. 368 ff. (on subordinate clauses in *O.O.*) the fallacy is once more recorded that an imperfect or pluperfect indicative passes into the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive in defiance of sequence. It is possible that this error (shared by other works on syntax) has its origin in an ambiguous sentence on p. 704 of Stolz-Schmalz, aided by a number of easily misinterpreted examples.

The following criticisms might be made on points of detail: vol. i, pp. 90 ff.: The account of the true Genitive of Quality is reasonable, but it would have been improved by reference to Vandvik's dissertation *Genitivus und Ablativus Qualitatis*, which is missing from the bibliography. Raabe's short dissertation barely touches this subject, and that of Edwards is out of date. It is wrong to divorce such genitives as *turris decem pedum* and *cibaria trium mensum* from the rest, even if it is allowable to call them 'Genitives of Quantity' and 'Genitives of Place and Time'. There must be some confused thinking here, for what is *iter Asiae* doing among them? It has not even an epithet. Pp. 144-5: The nature of the Ablative of the Agent is said to be doubtful, because inanimate agents and persons who are instruments in the hands of another are expressed by the bare instrumental ablative. But then the ablatives are instrumental, and not Ablatives of the Agent! P. 384: After an excellent account of the predicative or adverbial use of participles, the author follows the mistake of Kühner-Stegmann in placing among the adjectival uses Cic. *de Or.* iii. 137 *Pisistratus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus*. The only difference between *confusos* here and *captam* in the sentence *urbem captam incendit* is that the agent understood with the passive *captam* is identical with the subject of the finite verb, whereas the agent with *confusos* is not. Vol. ii, pp. 93-94: The statement that *nec* is avoided in the co-ordination of clauses 'de indole affectiva' is not entirely true. A prohibition is regularly joined to a previous positive command by *nec*, and the same applies to the joining of similar subordinate clauses. Pp. 160-1: The common mistake is made of implying that consecutive clauses ought to obey the same rules of sequence that apply to final and other

subordinate clauses in *O.O.* An example like *Cic. Phil. ii. 60 tanta est caritas patriae ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem* is explained as due to the need to emphasize the durative character of the action. (As *essem* does not express an action, a better example would be *de Or. i. 196.*) But *essem* is not 'en vez de *fuero*'. There is certainly a difference of tense-aspect between *essem* and *fuero*, but Cicero could have used either, according to his point of view. The imperfect expresses a natural tendency, the aorist-perfect an actual historical fact. Similarly in *eo facto sic doluit, nihil ut tulerit gravius, tulerit* is not 'en vez de *ferret* o *tulisset*'. Consecutive clauses are not oblique, and the only rules by which they are bound are those of common sense. A result cannot precede its cause, so that *tulisset* would be impossible anyway. But a past cause may have a present or future result, and a general truth, even if expressed by a present indicative, may account for a past event. P. 173: In the sentence *dicam quod sentio*, the subordinate clause cannot be 'either interrogative or relative'. It can only be relative. Pp. 363-4: The account of rhetorical questions in *O.O.* is clear and concise to the point of over-simplification, but it does explain the real principles at work and avoids the usual nonsense about the construction depending on the person of the verb in the original question.

Although this work will be useful for purposes of reference, it shares the common defect of full scientific grammars in that it divides the various constructions vertically into watertight compartments. For example, in the chapter on the infinitive (vol. i. Ch. 20) it is necessary to point out that the prolativ infinitive is found after such verbs as *constituo*, *mitto*, *moneo*, *hortor*, *permitto*, *impero*; but one is not told that this is not the only or the usual construction of these verbs in classical Latin. *Ut*-clauses are not even treated in the same volume. Similarly, in dealing with the acc. and infin. noun-phrase, it has to be stated that it can be used after the verbs of resolving *statuo*, *constituo*, *decerno*, (vol. ii, p. 221). Here it is indeed said that 'La construcción . . . es poco frecuente, pues en general se prefiere *ut*.' But this gives the false impression that the acc. and infin. and the *ut*-clause are alternative methods of expressing the same idea. The only way to save the learner from error, whether in interpretation or composition, is to devote a separate section to these verbs and explain at once *all* the constructions that may follow them, taking care to explain the different semantic values of each. This is not a criticism only of the work under review; it applies even to Mountford's Bradley's Arnold. For teaching purposes it seems absolutely necessary to make some compromise between the vertical and the horizontal methods of exposition.

Though these volumes are attractively bound, they show signs of hasty production. The printing, especially of italics, is very uneven, and there are far too many misprints and misspellings in the quotation of Latin examples, necessitating two pages of corrections at the end. But not all the slips can be attributed to the printer, e.g. vol. i, p. 230 *contra omnibus* and *extra ea (urbe)*. Some of the examples give the impression that they have been misquoted from memory, e.g. on p. 344 (on the impersonal gerundive with an accusative object) *Lucr. i. 111* is quoted as *aeternas poenas puniendum est* (for *timendum*), and in vol. ii, p. 204 *Nep. xviii. 11. 5* appears as *non cum quopiam arma contuli quin is mihi succubisset* (for *quoquam . . . succubuerit*). These do not appear in the list of corrections.

There is no recent English work of similar scope with which these two volumes may be compared. They represent a generally sound piece of work and

will provide a good textbook for Spanish-speaking students of Latin. Nevertheless, even if Spanish were as widely known in this country as French, it is doubtful whether they would be as useful to the teacher as the old Riemann or the new Ernout-Thomas.

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MYCENAE

GEORGE E. MYLONAS: *Ancient Mycenae*. Pp. x+202; 87 illus. London: Routledge, 1957. Cloth, 45s. net.

THIS book is based on the Page-Barbour lectures delivered in the University of Virginia in March 1955; and that, doubtless, is responsible for the somewhat mixed character of the contents. Such a course of lectures is commonly designed for a mixed audience: the lecturer must be all things to all men. For this, on the subject of Mycenae, Professor Mylonas is well qualified. He can inform those who are new to the site and period of what there is at Mycenae, and what is its significance; for others, he can relate it sympathetically to the world of the Homeric epics and other Greek literature and with Greek legend; for the more advanced archaeologist he has interesting suggestions and theories to put forward both on the immediate interpretation of the remains and on the reconstruction from them of Mycenae's Bronze Age history; and to all he speaks as the joint excavator of the 'new' shaft graves—the tombs of what is now called Grave Circle B. In performing these various functions the author unavoidably handles his material at varying levels and on a varying scale, which means that as a book it shows a slight lack of unity. Is it not a mistake to present between the same covers both a factual account of the new excavations and the writer's tentative collation of the legend and archaeology of Mycenae? Should not the latter appear separately in the pages of a learned journal? Ideally, perhaps, yes; in the circumstances, no. In effect the book is a statement on *Mycenae Now*, by a scholar who knows well the past work on the subject and has himself been *pars magna* in the recent discoveries.

The author's attempt, in Chapter I, to align with the events of Mycenaean legend the events attested by the archaeology of the site is significant of the point at which Mycenaean studies have now arrived. It was the literary sources that inspired Schliemann to dig, and digging thereafter continued in its own right; now excavation has built up a story of its own, which it is time to set beside the literary, the legendary tale. What, of the remains at Mycenae, may be attributed to Perseids and what to Pelopids? Did the dynastic change leave physical marks which still show? Tsountas long ago suggested that the Perseids (Danaoi) were the shaft grave-dynasty, the Pelopids (Achaioi) the beehive-tomb dynasty. Mylonas sees the shaft-grave and beehive-tomb periods as continuous (and indeed Grave *Rho* in the new grave circle provides a fascinating and important link between the two); and he holds that the beehive tombs are mainly pre-Pelopid, though he is prepared to attribute the 'Treasury of Atreus' to the first Pelopid at Mycenae, Atreus. For the citadel walls he finds three periods, adducing new evidence to suggest that the south-western wall, with the Lion Gate, is a thirteenth-century extension (by Atreus) of a previous fourteenth-century (Perseid) *enceinte*. (The eastern section, with the sally-port and the cistern-stair, was already recognized as later than the main body of the walls.) The destruction of the fine houses outside

the citadel in Mycenaean IIIB he would attribute (following the excavator, Professor Wace) to civil war between Atreus and Thyestes, dating this event c. 1250 B.C., 'one generation before the coming of Agamemnon, who took part in the sack of Troy'. The Treasury of Atreus is also dated by Mylonas to c. 1250. In the latter connexion he seems to have paid too little attention to the evidence of Wace's 1939 excavations, which strongly favour a fourteenth-century (Mycenaean IIIA) date for this tomb; and the Mycenaean IIIB date for the destruction of the houses need not in 'absolute' terms be nearly so early as 1250. (One might add that the alleged civil war is barely suggested in the literary sources.) As to the dating of the great figures and events of legend, the reviewer is delighted to see this problem seriously attacked; but it seems likely that the 'generations' of heroic chronology should not be so literally interpreted. It is one thing to accept the tradition that Heracles and Eurystheus are contemporaries of Aegeus of Athens, and Atreus a contemporary of Theseus and of the war of the Seven against Thebes. But if we accept the strict count of generations back from the time of the Trojan War—Mylonas accepts Eratosthenes' early twelfth-century date—and so agree with the *Marmor Parium* in dating the war of the Seven c. 1250, we run into difficulties. For this war should happen in the time of Theseus, and if Theseus is historical at all he comes at the end of a period in which Athens was tributary to Knossos, a period which must be before the fall of Knossos, i.e. before c. 1400. (Of course some will argue that Athens' subjection to Knossos is an Athenian fiction anyway: such people will suppose anything.) Again, Mylonas would place Perseus, as grandfather of Eurystheus, in the fourteenth century; and he connects Perseus' traditional foundation of Mycenae with the fourteenth-century citadel walls. But in that case legend had no record of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Mycenae, which is hardly conceivable. From these examples it should appear that Mylonas' tabulated chronology is to be used with extreme caution.

The description of the existing remains of Mycenae is full and up to date, and the reader is kept alert, among the detail, by incidental challenges to accepted interpretation: is the little chamber by the Lion Gate really for a porter, or rather for a watch-dog? Is the Throne Room really a throne room; or would the throne have been on the right-hand side of the megaron, now lost, as at Pylos and Tiryns?—but equally the writer's careful re-examination of evidence confirms important conclusions, e.g. that Schliemann's Grave Circle was constructed long after the date of the graves themselves. The account of the excavation (1951-4) of the new shaft graves of Circle B is the fullest that has yet appeared, and over half the book's illustrations are justifiably devoted to this important new material. The writer emphasizes that this can be no more than a preliminary statement; but it is a very informative one, and the new graves are discussed in relation to those found by Schliemann. There is no point in summarizing it here: it must be read now by every student of Mycenae, and it may well continue to prove a useful *editio minor* of these excavations even when the definitive publication appears.

There are more misprints, including mis-spellings of some proper names, than one would expect of a university press, and several odd transliterations (e.g. *aethousa*, *Hellanicos*); and the glossary is an odd appendage: most of the entries would be familiar to the readers of such a book, or are explained in its text. These are but minor blemishes on this important and valuable work.

GREEK HISTORY

G. W. BOTSFORD and C. A. ROBINSON, JR.: *Hellenic History*. Fourth edition revised. Pp. xxiv+519; 114 plates, 63 maps and diagrams. New York: the Macmillan Company, 1956. Cloth, 47s.

FOR the second edition (1939) of this well-known book see the notice in *C.R.* liv (1940), 35. In the third edition (1948), which I have not seen, a 'good many changes' were made, 'several chapters enlarged', and those on the Persian Wars, the Peloponnesian War, and Alexander the Great 'rewritten'. For the new edition many changes and additions have been made to the illustrations, Chap. ii on the Bronze Age has been rewritten in the light of Ventris's decipherment of Linear B, and a short appendix on the Athenian agora has been added.

All this is to the good; but it is a pity that mistakes, inconsistencies, and *naïvetés* have remained or been added. The Greek thinkers, till the last quarter of the fifth century, had, we are told, 'pursued the faulty method of generalization on the basis of too few facts'; it is interesting, but not surprising, to find much the same fault in the 'inescapable conclusions' based on the Linear B tablets and other Bronze Age evidence. That 'the classical Athenians were much mixed biologically' is doubtless true, but it is not proved by the 'skeletal remains' found in the agora. 'Archaeological evidence proves that (after the Dorian invasion) life continued much as before'; yet for three and a half centuries 'we are in the dark about many things', including the little problem whether the art of writing, 'widespread in the Bronze Age', was lost; and this because 'no Iron Age site has yet been excavated'. From the introductory chapter: '*though* at times [my italics] the Greeks seem bent on deliberate suicide, they still have valuable lessons for us in the field of government.'

'In time, of course, the nobles monopolized religion and converted it to a political instrument'; but we are given no instance of this. We have an innocent account of the rise of Sparta; and 'the name of Lycurgus is associated with the reform of about 600 B.C.', which will be a puzzle to those readers who, as advised on the page of recommended reading at the end, turn to Plutarch's *Lycurgus* and Xenophon's *Resp. Lac.* There is complete confusion about the *phylae* and *trittyes* in the Athenian system, with the nobles all living in the country, and the urban masses, c. 500, dominating the city-life; and the custom by which a man belonged to his father's deme no matter where he lived, is only 'odd'. What will the uninstructed make of the statements that 'the exact length of the conciliar year' at Athens was 'variable at the discretion of the government'? or, of legal procedure, that 'normally a case came first before a public arbitrator, for, since suits were private, they could be settled out of court'? Other points that surprised me were this summary of the Greek world after 479: 'the emphasis of these decades was on moderation. This period has been called the end of the Hellenic moral experiment'; and the judgement about Sophocles, that he 'did not regard himself as a teacher, nor on the other hand was he a skeptic, like Euripides; in religious matters he simply presented the better side of the gods as normal'.

As to method: there is one mention (not very accurate) of a skilled man's wages, in the fourth century; elsewhere we are given figures, 460 tal., 200 minae, &c., without any indication of what they mean—and in the glossary the

meaningless 'talent' . . . often referred to loosely as "equivalent" to 1080 American dollars'; '200 talents', a 'vast fortune for that age'—it *was* quite large, about 3,000 times the annual income of a skilled worker. Nor are we given even the simplest account of Greek warfare to explain the narrative of the wars, until we come to Alexander's campaigns and the Successors. In the chapter on the Peloponnesian War we are given translated excerpts from Thucydides (abbreviated—without indication of omission: e.g. we go from i. 1 direct to i. 22): this can be misleading, at least for the interpretation of Thucydides, as when a good deal is given from the Melian dialogue without anything from the Mytilenean or Plataean debate or of Brasidas' speech at Acanthus.

In the fourth century 'the urban masses, who comprised a majority of the voters, . . . to insure their own dominance made the magistrates and Council subservient to the Assembly. A chief reason for the revival of Athens was a healthful country economy.' And four pages later, 'the household was in a high degree self-sufficing. Although day laborers and shopkeepers had to buy their subsistence, the majority of Athenians derived from their farms all or nearly all' their food. And, we are told, also in the fourth century, 'the Greeks found their field of activity narrowly restricted—on the east by the Persian Empire, on the west by the Carthaginian field of influence. From the richest portions of the known world, therefore, they were cut off, and thus from the possibility of making gigantic fortunes'.

Two things we owe to modern scholarship: (1) 'the Athenians of a later time, who could not appreciate freedom and high intelligence in women, gave Sappho a bad reputation, and their judgement prevailed till modern scholarship succeeded in vindicating her character.' (2) 'It was the new culture of the succeeding Hellenistic Age—the only Greek culture the world ever really knew, until modern scholarship resurrected that of Periclean Athens—that civilized Rome.' Virgil ignorant of Homer, and Cicero and Quintilian of Thucydides, Plato, and Phidias?

A. W. GOMME

GREEK CIVILIZATION

ANDRÉ BONNARD: *Greek Civilization*. From the *Iliad* to the Parthenon. Translated by A. LYTTON SELLS. Pp. 199; 32 plates. London: Allen & Unwin, 1957. Cloth, 30s. net.

THIS book, of which the French original appeared in Lausanne in 1954, presents a series of ten chapters on miscellaneous historical, literary, and social topics. It does not seem to be the author's intention to produce a coherent picture of the Greek cultural tradition under any of these aspects; and the total effect on 'the general reader', to whom the book is addressed, is likely to be an impression of the Greeks as an alien and incomprehensible people. The historical matter is too apt to degenerate into disconnected summaries of tabloid information, not all of it accurate. Indeed no intelligible analysis of Athenian constitutional development, for example, could be expected from a writer who thinks that in the time of Pericles the 'Council of the Five Hundred was composed of former Archons' (p. 179). The account is not uncritical; Bonnard is indeed fond of stressing the 'primitive' features of Greek life (exposure of infants, human sacrifice before Salamis, &c.), and though he admires

'democracy' and 'progress', particularly in Periclean Athens, he dwells on the 'brutal' aspects of Athenian imperialism. There is an over-dismal description of slavery and the status of women. The economic interpretation of the historical development tends to be overworked: 'it was the sea that civilized the Greeks'. Even the *Iliad* must somehow be made relevant to the supposed condition of 'the wretched masses' in the Ionian cities of the eighth century B.C.; they or their 'bourgeois' allies (it is not clear which) 'wrested from the propertied class its culture and appropriated it by fashioning the first masterpieces of Greek poetry'. The *Odyssey* was composed for 'merchants and seafarers', and it becomes necessary to state that it 'does not clearly and ostensibly relate the story of the acquisition of tin', though in Bonnard's view that appears to be its real theme. Similarly the chief merit of Archilochus, whose fragments are conjecturally arranged to form a fairly continuous tale, lies in his having helped by his 'satire' to liberate men from the 'out-of-date ideology' of 'the feudal caste'. All political struggles tend to be reduced to a monotonous division between those who have and those who have not. This principle becomes something of a handicap for the understanding of political history. Slavery also becomes rather an obsession, and, among other things, is made to provide an explanation of the Athenian imperialism of the fifth century on the desperate hypothesis that the Athenians were tyrannous abroad because they had so many slaves at home. Cimon (as a propertied aristocrat) is condemned in terms which arouse even the translator to a mild caveat; but his note adds another to the not infrequent inaccuracies by appealing twice to 'Thesim-brotus' (p. 176).

The comments on literature are set at a high emotional pitch. Sappho in particular is heavily romanticized: 'No, Sappho is not alone because she still has the night'; and her 'poetry knows what chemistry knows'—that the world of 'physical nature and human consciousness are one and the same thing'. Solon produces 'something like a sob in this verse' when he devotes a few lines to the exiles who no longer spoke Attic. The 'amours' of Paris are to be regarded as 'a genuine religious experience'. Such humourless paradoxes have a ring of insincerity. Aeschylus is seen through a similar haze. His Prometheus ('we love him to the end') is said by another significant slip to be visited by the Oceanids because 'they have heard his plaint'—but it was the hammering of iron (*P.V.* 133). Bonnard often adopts an allusive style which is in danger of becoming enigmatic. One example of the riddles which would surely infuriate an inquiring mind comes from the first chapter: 'The Barbarian is born for slavery and the Greek for freedom. That is why Iphigeneia dies.' But it has already been asserted that the Trojan war was not between Greece and Barbary but was an economic dispute between Greeks: 'Troy was also a Hellenic city.' And something very different is said about the death of Iphigeneia when at last (in the ninth chapter) her identity is revealed. Some small displays of erudition are evidently meant to overawe, but in reality tell us more about the author than about the Greeks. Solon, because he loved Justice, was 'an "enthusiast", as the Greeks would say'. And how can it help the Greekless reader to be told that coinage gave rise to 'what Aristotle called *Chrematistiké*'? Others will be tempted to infer that Bonnard has never seen the word in an earlier authority.

The illustrations are pleasing; though familiar to the specialist they seem to call for more annotation than they receive. But Bonnard generally avoids the

history of art, except for a disquisition on the Parthenon: 'What does one think of in face of the Parthenon? . . . We think only of being happy.' It affects us like 'a living creature'. But 'living creatures, alas, are able to reproduce themselves'. He only means that he dislikes the imitations.

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RULER-WORSHIP

CHRISTIAN HABICHT: *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*. (Zetemata, Heft 14.) Pp. xvi + 255. Munich: Beck, 1956. Paper, DM. 24.

THE subject of this book is the worship of Greek rulers by Greek cities from its first appearance until the middle of the third century B.C. Habicht leaves deliberately on one side the state-cults established by the dynasties themselves, and also the later and (as he claims) less spontaneous manifestations of the city-cults themselves. He also excludes any discussion of the religious aspect or content of the phenomenon (see p. vii). One's first impression, which is not altogether dissipated by Habicht's able arguments aimed at showing that ruler-cult is essentially a political and not a religious phenomenon, is that we are thus provided with fare from which the most essential ingredient is lacking; in other words that we are given an overwhelmingly detailed account of mechanism, while the driving-force itself is left partially unexplained. This does not mean, however, that within its limits, whether prescribed or accidental, this is not an extremely useful and learned book.

The first part consists of an analysis of the cults of the individual kings, &c., dynasty by dynasty, and city by city, divided into sections numbered consecutively. Habicht begins straight off with his fifth- and fourth-century 'civilians'—Lysander, Alcibiades, and Dion. It is a very great pity that he did not relax his self-imposed restrictions sufficiently to give us some picture here of the gradual trends of thought in both the fifth and the fourth century which meant that the worship of mortals was 'in the air'. This is a topic to which Nilsson and Balsdon have both made valuable contributions in recent years, and its absence typifies the strictly logical and factual treatment of a problem which, by its very nature, cannot be thus restricted. For the rest, here, as throughout the book, Habicht gives us a very sane and balanced account of what actually occurred, some suggestions as to why it occurred, and above all a monumental collection of parallel passages, &c., which will be of the very greatest value to epigraphists faced with the restoration of similar texts. Thus, with the advantages and limitations indicated, one cannot help comparing this part of the book, with its vast and not always very explicit *Belegstellen*, to an article in the *Realenzyklopädie*.

Criticisms of interpretation, though few, are serious. In spite of the admirable sobriety of much of this part, Habicht is sometimes liable to show some irresponsibility at critical moments. There is for instance the question, which remains of critical importance, and of great obscurity, whether Alexander demanded deification from the Athenians, or whether the whole story is a myth of a later period. Habicht's view is that Alexander did indeed desire deification by Athens (as also by other Greek states), but that he brought this about by introducing the worship of Hephaestion as his θεός πάρεδρος, and

then, as it were, climbing in on his shoulders. This leads to the following conclusion (p. 35): 'Eine direkte Forderung Alexanders an die Griechen ihn zu Gott zu erklären ist demnach nicht ergangen; es bedurfte dieser plumpen Form nicht, da der Tod des Hephaestion Alexander die Möglichkeit eröffnete, sein Verlangen mit diplomatischem Takt deutlich zu machen. Die griechischen Gemeinden mußten erkennen, daß der Herr hinter dem nicht zurückstehen durfte, den er selbst als seinen Diener bezeichnete, als er ihnen nahelegte, ihn wie einen Heros zu ehren.' Yet what does all this rest on? Primarily on a passage of Hypereides' *Ἐννάρχιος* (§ 21), in which the orator says that the Athenians are now forced to look on at sacrifices made to men, and statues, altars, and temples dedicated carelessly (*ἀμελῶς*) to the deities but carefully (*ἐπιμελῶς*) to mortals, καὶ [τ]οὺς (τοῦ)των οἰκέτας ὥσπερ ἦρωας τιμᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους. Habicht says (following commentators on the speech): 'Es ist sicher und niemals bestritten worden, daß mit dem "Dienern, die wie Heroen geehrt werden" Alexanders Gefährte Hephaestion gemeint ist' (p. 29). But even admitting that Hypereides is speaking in indignation, I doubt whether anyone would understand *οἰκέτας*, which means servants or slaves, as applying to Hephaestion, even if there was a direct reference to Alexander in the passage. Habicht supports his conclusion by reference to the fact that Diodorus (xvii. 115. 6) and Lucian (*De cal. non tem. cred.* 17) say that Alexander in Babylon ordered Hephaestion to be given sacrifices as *θεῶν παρέδρω*, which he takes to mean that Hephaestion was regarded as a subsidiary god to Alexander associated with him in *Kultgemeinschaft*. It seems to me doubtful that Hypereides is referring to this, and if this is uncertain, Habicht's further hypotheses about what Alexander did or did not intend are far more so. The importance of the subject may perhaps excuse my dealing with it at some length.

In regard to a matter of less moment, the cult of Alexander as *Ktistes* in Alexandria, Habicht quotes (p. 36) the only specific record of this, *SB* 6611. I wonder, however, whether we do not possess another and earlier testimony in the Alexandrian inscription, *S.E.G.* ii. 849, which has puzzled Glanville and Skeat (*J.E.A.* xl [1954], 58, no. (58)) and myself (*J.E.A.* xli [1955], 135-6), and which probably is of the first century B.C. It has occurred to me that the priesthood of Alexander here recorded (*ἱερεῦσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*) may be the cult of Alexander *Ktistes*. This would explain the absence of the Ptolemies, whom one would expect to find mentioned if it is the state-cult, while the absence of the title *Ktistes*, as analogies elsewhere show, need cause no difficulty.

Habicht gives a good account of the cult of the Antigonids, events in Athens being particularly well explained (pp. 44-55). In respect of the island of Ios he has a detailed and skilful argument to show that *I.G.* xii, Suppl. 168, refers not to Antigonos Monophthalmos, but to Antigonos Gonatas. I believe, however, that Habicht is wrong here, and that in spite of the apparent (but not necessarily real) palaeographical difficulty, it refers to Antigonos Doson. Gonatas, as Habicht himself has to admit twice elsewhere, is nowhere recorded as being the object of worship by a city. This creates an immediate difficulty, and to say, as Habicht does, that Ios is an exception (see pp. 81 and 241, note 60) is no way out of it. Since we know so little of what went on in the Aegean in the reign of Doson, it would be unwise to decide in favour of Gonatas.

In regard to the Rhodian decision at the time of the siege not to abolish the honours paid to Antigonos and Demetrius, Habicht (pp. 73-74) says that we have no indication when these honours were passed and decides on general

grounds in favour of 306/5 after the arrival of Demetrius in the Aegean. In fact, however, in xx. 82 Diodorus recounts the bestowal of these honours in the context of the disturbed relations between Rhodes and Antigonus as a result of a threat of the latter to besiege Rhodes in 306/5 and as a result of the Rhodian refusal (in accordance with their alliance with Antigonus in 312) to assist Demetrius against Ptolemy: οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐψηφίσαντο μεγάλας αὐτῷ τιμὰς.

In regard to the Seleucids, Ptolemies, and Attalids the evidence is more exclusively epigraphical, and it is in the collection and (to a less degree) the interpretation of this material that Habicht is at his best. Most of the evidence is very familiar, and calls for few comments. It deserves notice, however, that Habicht makes out a detailed case for the attribution of the letter of Antiochus to Erythrae, *R.C.* 15, to Antiochus I rather than II, on the ground of the similarity of content, occasion, &c., between it and *O.G.I.S.* 222, the decree of the Ionian League for Antiochus I. The coincidences to which he points are striking, but there are some difficulties which involve further assumptions, and I feel that his case is not quite made out. His account of the Ptolemies is characterized by a detailed discussion (pp. 116 ff.) of the establishment of the cult of Philadelphus at Byzantium, in which he points out a valuable chronological parallel with events at Miletus, but which is marred in more general lines by his attempt to prove the presence of Ptolemaic naval forces in the Black Sea by reference to the story that the statue of Sarapis was brought from Sinope in the opening years of the reign of Philadelphus. Habicht gives no indication of the great difficulties involved in this story.

For the cult of Soter in Ptolemais Habicht does not quote the essential evidence contained in *B.I.F.A.O.* xli (1942), 43 ff.

Part ii contains the analysis of the cults as performed in the cities (sacrifices, temples, &c.), their establishment (motives, occasion, &c.), characteristic features (duration and abolition, cult-honours), and finally a study of ruler-cult as an historical phenomenon. I cannot help feeling that some of the detailed analysis here might have been omitted, since it involves much labouring of the obvious—as, for example, that the cult of a monarch would normally be abolished if he became openly hostile to the city; that the cult-centre was normally named after the individual worshipped in it; that months were named after kings, &c.—all with chapter and verse. However, by adhering closely to the material which he has collected, Habicht is occasionally able to bring out points which have been overlooked even in this well-tilled field. On pp. 171 ff. he propounds what is perhaps the main thesis of the second part, that the object of the cult, who is so worshipped because of his services to the city (normally an act of liberation or rescue from a difficult situation), is already a deity *before* the city establishes his cult. Habicht puts this point very clearly: 'Was er für die Stadt tat, konnte er nur leisten, wenn er mehr war als ein Mensch, wenn er ein Gott war . . . Das Dekret, in dem die Stadt seinen Kult beschließt, ist sekundär und bedeutet nichts weiter als die Bereitschaft der Stadt, die bestehende Göttlichkeit ihres Helfers anzuerkennen und durch sakrale Handlungen zu verehren. Der Beschluß der Gemeinde schafft die Göttlichkeit nicht, sondern erkennt sie als bestehend an, er hat somit nicht konstitutiven, sondern deklaratorischen Charakter; mit anderen Worten: die Stadt kann keine Götter machen.' This is based on the fact, which Habicht establishes in detail, that in decrees in which the honours are bestowed on

kings the cities do not actually establish the deity of a ruler but straightway bestow the honours on him as a god. He then examines the use of the terms ἀποθεώω, ἐκθεώω, ἐκθεάζω, ἀποθέωσις, ἐκθέωσις, and points out that none of these occurs until the third century B.C. and that the use may perhaps have originated in Ptolemaic Egypt. Both these sets of facts seem established, and Habicht maintains that it follows that ruler-cult is simply inaugurated in recognition of an act of superhuman dimensions, and that the city does not deify. As he is well aware, this amounts to saying that the cult of the ruler is wholly political in character, and has no religious basis whatever. This is a view which it is well to have so clearly and circumstantially stated, and in strict logic it is difficult to deny it. But I cannot help feeling that here Habicht has paid too little attention to the religious background, and particularly to the fact that the notion of the man with divine qualities was increasingly current in the fourth century (see Balsdon, *Historia*, i [1950], 363 ff.), and consequently that the inhabitants of an old Greek city would not necessarily feel any difficulty in making a man a god if they were, for whatever reason, in the mood to do so; and this potential inclination is surely more significant, though less tangible, than whether they actually do so in their decrees. In other words ruler-cult is a particular manifestation, in an essentially political context, of an undoubted development in religious psychology. It may well be that the absence of such words as ἀποθέωσις from our sources before the middle of the third century is a matter of vocabulary rather than of religious history.

Habicht has also a very good account of the relation of the cult of kings to the cult of heroes and of the distinction between sacral and profane honours, and an interesting chapter on hostility to such cults, which he shows is based, before the Imperial period, on political opposition to an individual and not on opposition to the notion of the worship of a human being. Finally he discusses ruler-cult as an historical phenomenon and claims that it represents the emergence of the individual in place of this or that god as πολιοῦχος. This is again a very good point, well developed. There can be little doubt that among the complex elements which contributed to the divine personality of the ruler, as seen by the city, that of the πολιοῦχος was prominent.

Though it is true to say that this book deals with its subject too rigidly, that it is too logical in its treatment, and too simple in some of its theses, and though it may be maintained that the second part is at times over-explicit, Habicht has not only produced an instrument of work of real practical value, but has also established some valid points in the clearest possible way; and this is a book for which we must be very grateful.

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A NEW LIFE OF PHILIP II

PAUL CLOCHÉ: *Un fondateur d'empire: Philippe II, roi de Macédoine* (383/2–336/5). Pp. 295; one map. Saint Étienne: Éditions Dumas, 1955. Paper, 800 fr.

THE clarity and scrupulousness characteristic of all Professor Cloché's work are to be found in this biography of Philip II. It is based on his earlier studies of fourth-century history, but does not hesitate to modify views there put forward.

For example, the Greek states are no longer regarded as *épuisés* on the eve of Philip's accession; they could still marshal considerable resources (p. 36). The Peace of Philocrates was not so completely in the Theban interest as Demosthenes asserted and as Cloché formerly believed (p. 170). The importance of Timarchus' condemnation in 345, though a success for the friends of Philip, should not be exaggerated: political undertones were kept in check throughout the trial (p. 178). These and similar modifications of earlier views reveal the author's concern with the evidence, his flexibility, and his willingness to change his mind. True, he is perhaps more ready to propound alternative explanations than to come down firmly in favour of one. His honesty is exceeded only by his caution; and this combination can sometimes be somewhat paralysing. It is, for instance, a tenable hypothesis that in 339 Philip wanted Thebes to reject his proposals, in order to have an excuse for attacking her; however, *rien n'en démontre l'exactitude* (p. 259). If Philip's offers were sincere, in the Theban-Athenian alliance he sustained a diplomatic setback; if they were insincere, the contrary is true. Until one has made up one's mind on his intentions, it is impossible to estimate their success. Cloché feels unable to do the one, and so is debarred from doing the other.

If this book seems rather elusive, it is partly because it lacks incisiveness, but partly because one is in some uncertainty about the audience to whom it is addressed. The absence of any Greek (all quoted passages are in translation) suggests the general reader; and this would account for the omission of the evidence on controversial issues. For instance, on the chronology of the Sacred War Cloché merely reasserts his former view, and is content to refer the reader to an article of 1939 for an answer to Hammond's objections. On the other hand, references to inscriptions and to authors like Philochorus, not easily available except in the original, seem to assume a different type of reader, who would incidentally have profited from some comprehensive discussion of the value of the various sources. (What weight, for instance, is to be given to Libanius' commentary on the *Olynthiacs*? Cloché makes considerable use of this source without anywhere assessing its value.)

If no very clear picture of Philip's mind and personality emerges, this is partly due to the arrangement, which puts general discussion before the detailed history, though it would perhaps have been more natural to reserve much of this for the final chapter. But it arises even more from the fact that Cloché is at heart a follower of Demosthenes, without much real sympathy for Philip. His last chapter makes the point that in contrast both to the Greek city-states of the fifth and fourth centuries and to Rome, Macedon, which overthrew the former and was overthrown by the latter, made no real contribution to human civilization, being 'toujours dénué de ces éminentes valeurs humaines dont ses principaux ennemis étaient si richement pourvus'. An assessment of the role of Macedon in history comes fairly as a pendant to a biography of Philip II: but it must fall short of doing justice to either if it ignores the catalytic nature of the conquests of Philip and Alexander in releasing the tremendous energies which expressed themselves in the Hellenistic age.

I append a few minor points. References are often to out-of-date publications, and are not always consistent. Jacoby's work on the Greek historians seems largely to be ignored. Philochorus is still quoted from Müller. Theopompus is quoted from Müller on p. 50, though on p. 60 the same passage is given its reference in *F. Gr. Hist.* On p. 78 it is odd to find the proxeny decree

for Lachares (*I.G.* ii². 130) still given as *I.G.* ii. 70; on p. 137 there is no indication that *I.G.* ii². 211 (misquoted as *I.G.* ii. 211) is by no means certainly to be connected with Olynthus; *I.G.* ii². 240 is described (p. 281) as a decree in honour of Philip; it is a grant to an unknown friend of Athens at Philip's court, who had helped the Athenian envoys in 336. There is a fairly comprehensive *table des matières* and a map of Greece, but no bibliography or index; and where works are quoted in footnotes there is often no indication of their date of publication.

Philip's character is not easy to apprehend. Our evidence is largely from Athenian sources and reveals the Greek reaction to Philip's actions more often than it clarifies his own aims and policy. Cloché has not failed to underline the fact that not all Greek states and parties took the same view of Philip that Demosthenes took; but he could have gone much farther. Such a passage as Polyb. xviii. 14 (on which Cloché had some acute comments in *L'Antiquité classique* [1939], pp. 361 ff.) illuminates the dilemma and clash of loyalties within the states of fourth-century Greece, which form the background against which Philip's intervention in Greece is to be assessed (as Momigliano made clear over twenty years ago). Of these undertones there is little in Cloché's biography. But when these reservations have been made, it can still be welcomed as a straightforward, fair, and very readable account of Philip's career, and a useful complement to the author's earlier study on Demosthenes.

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SULLA

ERNESTO VALGIGLIO: *Silla e la crisi repubblicana*. Pp. 254. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1956. Paper, L. 1,000.

THIS book is not a full biography of Sulla: the author has deliberately passed by some aspects of Sulla's career, such as his early life and his campaigns in Italy and Greece. Since his purpose is to evaluate Sulla's political position, avoidance of detailed military history is reasonable enough, but unfortunately he has neglected opportunities for a fresh approach and presents what is in some respects a conventional portrait of Sulla as the champion of the aristocracy. This reaction against the brilliant but (to many) false portrait drawn by J. Carcopino is welcome, but it is perhaps going too far virtually to neglect Carcopino's work on the ground, presumably, that others have refuted it: though frequent reference is made to his book, his basic views on Sulla are dismissed in a couple of brief footnotes (pp. 144 and 207). Thus Valgiglio regards Sulla as a party leader, but he makes no detailed attempt to refute Carcopino's views of his political relations with the Metelli, Pompey, and other families. A party comprises followers and demands analysis: even those who do not regard prosopography as the key to all knowledge would admit that any attempt to delineate the social and political background of Sulla's supporters would be valuable, and Valgiglio's fellow countryman, E. Gabba, had provided a start with his work on the Sullan senators (*Athenaeum*, 1951, pp. 262 ff.: an article not even mentioned by Valgiglio). It is, incidentally, a pity also that Valgiglio, who occasionally refers to Sulla's opponents as the popular party, usually calls them democrats. His general picture of Sulla, however, seems sensible: in regard to the central question why Sulla retired, Valgiglio

takes the common-sense point of view that the question posed in such terms is wrong: Sulla was given the dictatorship for as long as he judged fit to hold it; there was not necessarily any question of a perpetual tenure; when he had accomplished to his own satisfaction the task that he had been given, he naturally resigned. So far from being a would-be monarch, Sulla was a good aristocrat whom the conditions of the times forced into a dictatorship (as Cicero said about the *lex Valeria* that granted him the office: 'non enim videtur hominis lex esse, sed temporis'). The question of a possible desire not to resign would only arise in the light of later developments; and Valgiglio is by no means blind to the central position of Sulla in the series of army-commanders that led from Marius to the rule of one man.

The book is well documented, though sometimes more references are needed (e.g. to Cic. *de Fin.* 2. 54 and Dessau, *I.L.S.* 45 on the 'quaestio de sicariis et veneficis'), and the sources are not adequately evaluated. Some points Valgiglio discusses thoroughly (e.g. he tries to analyse the precise constitutional stages by which Sulla received his powers: pp. 54 ff.), but at other times he is too slight: e.g. in regard to Sulla's treatment of the tribunate and (a) legislation, there should be more discussion of the possible dates of the *lex Antonia de Termessibus* and the *lex Plautia dereditu Lepidanorum*, and (b) the veto, possible examples of tribunician veto between 81 and 70 should be given. On the difficult matter of the *lex de provinciis* Valgiglio takes the reasonable view that consuls in office were responsible for order and could go—or at any rate be sent—to any province where they were needed. He has much to say on Sulla Felix and interprets Felix as one favoured by Fortuna, not as one protected by all the gods and especially by Venus; he discusses the relationship between Felix and Ἐναγρόδιρος (this chapter might perhaps have been shortened, especially the discussion of post-Sullan developments). But although, with Sulla, religion in the service of the State was passing to religion in the service of the individual (p. 193), Sulla himself was not conscious of this change, since he was not aspiring to a personal monarchy. In matters of detail, there are some careless dates (on pp. 19, 86, 102), a 'non' has dropped out of the last line of p. 140, a quaint reference to the *denarius* depicting Jugurtha's surrender on p. 158 might suggest that it is a great rarity (though the more orthodox Grueber is quoted on p. 186), and what is said about the *pomerium* (p. 131 &c.) is a queer misunderstanding. But Valgiglio has written an interesting and enthusiastic book which seeks to see Sulla in the perspective of the declining Republic, even if it does not attempt a detailed examination of his career in the light of contemporary politics.

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APPIAN AND ASINIUS POLLIO

EMILIO GABBA: *Appiano e la storia delle guerre civili*. Pp. viii+268. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1956. Paper, L. 1,500.

THE main aim of this book is, by analysis of Appian's *Civil War*, to establish the *Histories* of Asinius Pollio as the principal source for the whole of that work. Attention is almost equally divided between Book i (Part I) and Books ii-v (Part II). This is to some extent due to the fact that there is more to be said about Book i, to some extent to the interests of the author and the way in

which he came to write this study: it arose (as he tells us) out of his edition of Book i, which has long been eagerly awaited by those interested in the period; and the author, by detailed studies in many recent volumes of *Athenaeum*, has established a reputation as the foremost expert on the period covered by Book i.

After a brief introduction Gabba starts (13 ff.) by considering Appian's account of Livius Drusus: unlike almost all our other sources, Appian reports it from the point of view of the Allies, not from that of Roman politics; this continues in part through the Social War, though here a thread of Roman tradition (from Livy) can also be discerned. Having thus isolated a source unique in regarding the problem of the Allies as the 'central problem of the Roman State' about the turn of the second and first centuries B.C., Gabba goes back to the account of the Gracchi (34 ff.): he considers the whole of that account based on the same source; it regards the agrarian question and the question of the Allies as organically connected and rooted in the history of Roman expansion, and it does not—as 'urban' Roman writers do—depict the problem of the Allies as a by-product of city politics. The whole of this part of Book i is written from the point of view of the Allies, in fact often tendentiously so; and in the case of Saturninus (73 ff.) a connexion with the problem of the Allies has been polemically manufactured. Appian's source (79 ff.) must be a great historian, who found the origins of the crisis of the Republic in social-economic and political developments (as opposed to hackneyed moralizing); and the point of view suggests Asinius Pollio, grandson of an Allied leader in the Social War. In the rest of Book i (89 ff.) the Livian tradition, supplemented by other sources, is dominant, except for the account of Spartacus, based—like that of Catiline in Book ii—through an intermediary on Sallust.

Book ii (119 ff.), while distributing the blame for the outbreak of the Civil War of 49, regards the actual cause of Pompey as the better and ascribes his defeat to the intervention of Destiny. Caesar's ambition is stressed (140 ff.), and after his death the tone is favourable to Brutus and Cassius, but also to Antony as against the Senate; and the anti-Senatorial tone dominates Book iii (153 ff.), though the source is more hesitant as between Antony and Octavian. Book iv (177 ff.), after a survey of the Proscriptions (due to Appian himself), takes Brutus and Cassius as its heroes, whose defeat is again due to Destiny; at the end, an Antonian point of view is adopted, which (189 ff.) in Book v turns into polemic against Octavian. Gabba concludes (207 ff.) by discussing the results obtained by his analysis of ii-v and arrives (232 ff.) at Asinius Pollio as the chief source for these books: his *Histories*, after a lengthy introduction, must have dealt in detail with the period 60-(probably) 31 B.C.; and Gabba relates this to what we know of the work and evaluates its character.

The ghost of Pollio has haunted our *Quellenforschung* of Appian (and of Plutarch) for over a century: Wijnne's dissertation on Appian was written in 1855. In 1894, in his *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Gracchen* (later reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*), Eduard Meyer first suggested the introduction to Pollio's *Histories* as the ultimate source of Appian's B.C. i—though he thought there was no way of proving it and later recanted (*Caes. Mon.*³, 608). In 1896 Kornemann (perhaps the most prominent 'Asinian' hitherto) wrote 150 pages in the *Jahrbücher*, arriving at a very clear picture of the *Histories*; and the latest monograph on Pollio (André, *La vie et l'œuvre d'Asinius Pollio*: see Chilver's review in this journal, n.s. ii [1952], 30-31) has two pages of bibliography—far from com-

plete—on that work alone. Considering that practically not a word of the *Histories* survives, one might have thought there was nothing left to be said. But Gabba—who has read every word that has been written on the subject—does not touch anything without leaving the imprint of originality; and this book will be essential reading for the student of the period. This is not the occasion for detailed argument: that must wait until we have the edition of Book i, to which Gabba frequently refers us. On some old *crucis*—the ‘*consul Caepio*’ (?) who pulled down the theatre; the *lex Thoria*; Livy’s *Patauinities*—we have all made up our minds, on the slender evidence; and I have so far seen no reason to change mine. But some general matters must be raised.

No one will easily be convinced that Appian’s account of C. Gracchus is, like that of Tiberius, ‘Italic’ in bias. In fact, Appian hardly mentions the Allies except in connexion with the *rogatio de sociis* (where no one could help doing so)—and there Gaius’ solicitude for them is said to be due to his hoping for their support! This is clearly the usual Optimate charge that he sought power for himself (whether it is justified, is another matter): his ‘hiring’ of the People by the *lex frumentaria* (i. 21–22) is followed by his making up to the *Equites* and this—after an *excursus*, hostile to the latter, on the law-courts—by his gaining the support of the artisans by public works (this is given as his motive—not, as Gabba says, love of the Italians) and by his founding colonies (obviously mentioned as a stock demagogic device); now (23) comes the piece on the Allies; and at last the long-suffering Senate, which for very honourable reasons has hitherto not opposed the reformer (in fact it was helpless—a particularly blatant propaganda twist!), is thoroughly alarmed (*δισταραχθεῖσα*) and has to take counter-measures. The tone of all this is clear enough; and Gabba’s involved argument (especially 59–60) vainly skirts round it. It is odd that, when a precisely similar charge recurs in the case of Sulpicius (i. 55), Gabba recognizes it for what it is (90–91): this is within his ‘Livian tradition’, and he has no ‘Asinian’ axe to grind.

But the chief objection to the ‘Asinians’ is the one that made Meyer hesitant long ago: ‘Wir besitzen eben für Asinius Pollio zu wenig Material’ (*Kl. Schr.*, 400). We know from Horace (*Od.* ii. 1) that his starting-point was 60 B.C.; that already provides eleven years of introduction before the real *motus civicus* of 49. It would take strong evidence indeed to make us saddle him with another seventy-odd and believe that he treated the Gracchi in as much detail as Appian’s source (which Appian—as Gabba also admits—has badly chopped about) quite clearly did: could that still be called a History *ex Metello consule* (i.e. 60)? Yet there is no evidence whatever: only an inference from Appian’s occasional bias, for which other explanations can easily be found. We do not know the terminal date of the *Histories* either: André came down on the side of 42 (the most common view); and it is indeed remarkable that of (at most) sixteen fragments and specific *testimonia* (André, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–61) any we can date fall between 60 and 42. (Priscian’s snippet, probably concerning Tiberius, the later Emperor, is irrelevant to the *Histories*: rightly André, *op. cit.*, p. 61.) Nor is it easy to believe that the vain and egotistical Pollio (who mentions himself where Caesar’s own account does not, and who walked out when a poet at a recitation said that Roman eloquence had died with Cicero) should have referred to his only military achievement—the Illyrian campaign that brought him his ‘Dalmatian triumph’—perfunctorily and anonymously, as Appian does in *B.C.* v. 75. And Appian knows nothing of

Pollio in his *Illyrica*. In the face of this, those who want the *Histories* to continue down to 35, or even 31, must give us some positive evidence. (For a minor consideration on their side see Chilver, l.c.) Until they do—and argument from Appian's 'tendency', even if this could be incontrovertibly established, is quite indecisive—it will be safer to believe that Pollio heeded Horace's advice and, after praising Brutus and Cassius (which, as we know, the *Princeps* did not altogether discourage), preferred tragedy and oratory and the pursuit of culture to the danger of continuing his *Histories* beyond Philippi.

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THE EPIGRAPHY OF ASIA MINOR

W. M. CALDER: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. Vol. vii: *Monuments from Eastern Phrygia*. Pp. xlviii+160; 4 sketch maps; 22 pp. of line-drawings; 30 plates. Manchester: University Press, 1956. Cloth, £4. 4s. net.

AFTER more than a century and a quarter of archaeological activity, the fresh epigraphic possibilities of Greece are becoming progressively more limited: the publication of more and more sites, which rarely, like the Athenian Agora, produce a rich epigraphic harvest, leaves less prospect for future discovery. It is in Asia Minor that the hopes for the future lie. The area is great, and the investigation of it so far sporadic, revolving mainly around the travels of this scholar or that, or occasionally a more intensive preoccupation with a limited site or region, as in the work of G. E. Bean or the Roberts. The contribution of the 'epigraphical journey' has nowhere been better exemplified than in the *M.A.M.A.* volumes, which have provided some co-ordination for what would otherwise be a scattered mass of material, to be laboriously disinterred from this *Revue* or that *Abhandlung*. The epigraphy of Asia Minor notably lacks an ordered series and a standard term of reference, such as are provided for the west by *I.G.* It is therefore with the greater regret that we read in the preface to this volume that the series is to end with volume viii. The form and character of *M.A.M.A.* had their deficiencies, it is true; on the other hand, the series did not pretend to offer an Asiatic *corpus*—it amounted to a set of prolegomena to such a *corpus* as may one day be written, and, based as it was on a succession of travels by Calder and others, it is hard to see how it could have been formulated otherwise.

The inscriptions here presented were transcribed in the course of exploration in Eastern Phrygia, in an area roughly bounded by Laodicea Combusta (Ladik), Sinanlı, Orcistus (Alikel), and Philomelium (Akşehir). The great majority consists of depressing and often half-illiterate gravestones; most were previously unpublished; many are accompanied by some form of relief sculpture which can hardly be recommended to connoisseurs of art. It is welcome to note that a very considerable proportion is illustrated either by photograph or by line-drawing, more careful treatment than most of them intrinsically deserve but very necessary from the scholar's point of view. If most of this material, taken by itself, appears monotonous and unpromising, its cumulative value is important in a number of directions. Some of these are briefly outlined

in the Introduction, which contains discussions on the religious significance of the inscriptions, the topography of the area, and the languages used (thirty-two neo-Phrygian texts appear in this volume, ten inscriptions are in Latin, and the remainder, some 550, in Greek). Of those who benefit from the collection, the student of early Christianity is perhaps the most fortunate: there is a good deal of third-century material to be found here, some indeed of the second, and the monuments are of importance not only in attesting the spread of the new religion and its local idiosyncrasies, but also in witnessing to the development of Christian symbolism and the adaptation of pagan motifs to Christian uses. In the latter respect the incidence of persecution was doubtless an important factor. The harmless Dionysiac grape-motif (e.g. nn. 82, 420-1) could be used without harm to his conscience by a Christian mindful of our Lord as the vine: the six-pointed rosette, inoffensive descendant of centuries of grave-decoration, represented to the faithful the sacred monogram. Honour was satisfied all round.

Other studies principally affected come off less well. The discussion of the geographical evidence, especially for the linguistic boundary of the Phrygian-speaking area, is not easy to follow, and the inadequacy of the maps makes its study even more difficult. A work of this kind needs good and clear cartographic illustration: the four sketches which are apparently expected to suffice represent a false economy. But even with the aid of the 1:200,000 G.S. sheets confusion is not avoided. The arrangement of the texts, following principles laid down in *M.A.M.A.* vol. i, is that of a series of general areas (Laodicea, Hadrianopolis, Tyriaion, &c.), within which inscriptions are arranged by subject, whatever their precise geographical location. Thus the first dozen inscriptions in the book come from ten different places, the extremes among which are some forty miles apart. Of these ten, three are not to be found on the relevant G.S. map, and of the remainder only the obvious Ladik is immediately identifiable. It is hardly profitable now to question the principles on which arrangement and nomenclature, as well as topographical illustration, have been based: they make the best of neither world, and one can only regret them.

Again, for reasons of economy the texts are throughout printed continuously with strokes to mark line-divisions, and the commentary is laconic, the texts being referred to, where apposite, in the general prefatory discussions. Where the stones are fully illustrated, as here, the actual arrangement of the text matters less, although on general grounds a line-by-line reproduction is greatly to be preferred. It is a pity that the author has not seen fit to adopt the Leiden epigraphic conventions, which provide an accepted if not wholly satisfactory usage. Among modern epigraphists the Leiden symbols barely hold their own against individual preferences; in this volume the round brackets () and angled brackets < > offer the chief variant usages, of which the reader should be warned. One would also welcome uniformity of epigraphic practice in the insertion of *iota subscriptum* and in the dotting of letters within square brackets. These are matters which the next Epigraphic Congress might profitably take up.

Space precludes discussion of individual entries. One's principal emotion, on reaching the final page of a concentrated and difficult book, is one of gratitude for the publication of so much devoted and painstaking research. Generously illustrated as it is, it offers as elaborate an edition as modern conditions permit; but one result of the need for compression is that the reader may find the work at times obscure and difficult to use. Since, however, *M.A.M.A.*'s

public is from the nature of the subject a limited one, accustomed to this sort of thing, the disadvantages may well prove less than they at first appear.

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RHETORIC IN EDUCATION

DONALD LEMEN CLARK: *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*. Pp. xii+285. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1957. Cloth, 36s. net.

PROFESSOR D. L. CLARK has two special qualifications for writing about ancient rhetorical education. In the first place he is, like Quintilian when he wrote his *Institutio*, an emeritus professor of rhetoric, and ancient rhetoric is therefore for him not a museum curiosity, but something living, whose value he has himself proved during a lifetime of teaching. 'As I became aware,' he writes in his preface, 'bit by bit, of ancient teaching wisdom, as I learned the ancient precepts, imitated ancient methods, and practised on generations of college students, I became increasingly effective as a midwife to others' thoughts.' In the second place he is an authority on the rhetoric of the Renaissance; in his book *John Milton at St. Paul's School* he made a notable contribution to English educational history, and showed how much of ancient rhetorical methods survived in the seventeenth century. His sense of the continuity of European education gives additional life and interest to his exposition of the methods of the ancient school.

He has written an agreeable and readable book, which succeeds in avoiding the dry technicalities which make so much of ancient rhetorical writing tedious and forbidding. He treats in turn the various aspects of ancient theory and practice. He begins with a chapter on whether the art of speaking can be taught, and follows it with one on the meaning of rhetoric. After describing the Greco-Roman school he outlines the precepts of rhetoric as taught there; a chapter on imitation follows, and finally two chapters on the exercises of the schools, the progymnasmata and declamation. Throughout he brings out the essential points and illustrates them with full and apt quotation.

It is only right that a reviewer in this journal should point out that, though in general a reliable guide, Clark occasionally goes wrong on points of detail. His suggestion that Cicero had read *Ad Herennium* as a boy is incompatible with the date he assigns to the treatise (81 B.C.), for in that year Cicero was already twenty-five years old. He wrongly applies the term *ludus literarius* to the grammar school, and his description of 'rem tene, verba sequentur' as 'Cato's Stoic view' misleadingly suggests that the elder Cato was an adherent of Stoicism. On p. 65 he writes as if prelections on great orations of the past were a normal feature of the rhetorical school, whereas the passage of Quintilian on which he bases himself makes it clear that, so far as the Roman schools were concerned, this was an innovation by Quintilian, in which he was not followed by others. Nor does there seem to be any ground for the later statement (p. 167) that Quintilian believed such prelections should form part of instruction under the *grammaticus* rather than under the rhetorician; Quintilian in fact specifically recommends that the rhetorician should read speeches with his pupils in the same way as the *grammaticus* expounded poets. Finally, if I may

correct Clark on his own ground, the title of Charles Hoole's book was *A New Discovery*, not *The Rediscovery, of the Old Art of Teaching School*.

Though not uncritical, Clark is more sympathetic to ancient rhetoric than many moderns, partly no doubt because, writing as he does with the aim of helping the modern teacher, he selects what seems to him true and valuable. In a brief epilogue he suggests some lessons which can be drawn from the theory and practice of ancient rhetoric. Admirable as these are, I am not sure that they are as well supported by ancient practice as the author thinks. He recalls the ancient association of rhetoric with the other liberal arts and states that the Roman schools did not suffer from departmentalism as ours do. In fact the Roman rhetorician was very much a specialist, and the wide general education which theorists advocated remained an unrealized ideal. Nor is one entirely convinced when Clark commends the ancient rhetorical schools for their moral teaching. It might well be argued that the disregard for truth which they encouraged outweighed their moral lessons; the student who learned to praise virtue in eloquent terms also learned to praise the scoundrel as easily as the hero or saint. We can, however, readily agree with the final lesson which Clark draws from the ancient world, that its rhetoric decayed with the decay of democracy and that a healthy rhetoric is one which freely debates real contemporary issues.

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M. L. CLARKE

GREEK LEGAL THEORY

J. WALTER JONES: *The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks*. Pp. x+327. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Cloth, 42s. net.

A FIRST impression of disappointment may be recorded. We need an up-to-date, comprehensive work on the law of the ancient Greeks, reviewing the evidence and reconstructing, so far as this is possible, the rules that governed their legal transactions; and for such a work few men could be so well qualified in classical and legal scholarship as is the Provost of the Queen's College. Instead, he has chosen 'to sketch their legal ideas, whether in or about the law, as an aspect of their thought about life in the city'. For nearly a third of his way he treads the familiar ground of Greek legal-political theory, discussing *dike*, *themis*, *nomos*, *physis*, *eunomia*, *homonoia*, *isonomia*, and citing philosophers, poets, and orators. When he proceeds to legal technique and procedure and the legal aspect of such topics as associations, marriage, kinship and succession, ownership and possession, contract, mortgages and leases, the mental element in wrongdoing, the position of slaves, women, and minors (these are the headings of his chapters viii to xv), his observations, acute and suggestive as they are, seem at many points disconnected, almost fragmentary. The explanation of course lies partly in the fragmentary nature of the available material; it may lie partly, as he himself suggests, in the book's genesis in 'some rather desultory notes on passages of legal interest in the Greek authors'; and perhaps it lies even more in the modesty and integrity of Jones's scholarship, which makes him reluctant to fill out his text with thoughts that are not genuinely his own.

If, however, we take Jones's work for what it is and not for what another type of scholar might have made of it, we must judge it good. Specialists may find

a few errors (see a review in the *Times Literary Supplement* for 10 May 1957) but not many. Jones is well acquainted with his texts and he has a wide and scholarly knowledge of ancient law and legal history. Being a lawyer he knows what questions to ask and what evidence is relevant. His book contains a great deal of information compactly arranged to illumine each point that is raised for examination. It is shrewd in suggestion and temperate in judgement—see, for instance, pp. 226–7 on *Od.* viii. 344–58. It improves on re-reading, as one appreciates better the depth of thought beneath its brevity of statement.

Some criticism might be ventured of the early chapters. Like other writers on Greek legal-political ideas Jones tends to use poets, dramatists, philosophers, and orators as witnesses of equal value to 'Greek thought'. He does make some discriminations, for instance, his acute remarks (p. 32) on the change of meaning undergone by *θέμις* and *δίκη* during the evolution from the tribal society of the *Iliad* to the democratic polis, and there is a passage of ten pages (pp. 47–57) which admirably uses evidence from philosophical, historical, and legal sources to demonstrate the weakening during the fifth and fourth centuries of the exclusive conception of citizenship based on birth. Yet one feels that the opinions aired by Plato in his Academy do not belong to the same sort of 'Greek thought' as those offered by Aristophanes to his audiences or by the orators to the popular juries.

In a short review it is impossible and in any case it would be tedious to discuss or even to indicate all the observations made in the chapters on more specifically legal topics. Jones focuses his study on evidence from Attic sources and from the classical age, though he occasionally calls attention to a significant parallelism or divergence in the laws of other states and quite frequently draws on his knowledge of the papyri and of Roman law for Hellenistic continuation and development. Some may criticize this Atticism, but Jones, like Euripides of old (see p. 54) and like Partsch and Pringsheim in modern times, holds that in spite of local variations there was something which could be called a 'common law' of the Greeks. This was of course not, even in Hellenistic times, a 'system' of law in the sense in which Roman law was a system. To the Romanist and the modern lawyer it is striking how unsystematic Greek law was and how little 'the Greek mind' did in the way of developing abstract legal concepts and setting them in a framework of logically coherent rules. No doubt arguments based on *Begriffsjurisprudenz* would in the popular courts have produced such tedium as to defeat their own ends and the orators would not have employed them even if they could, while the philosophers, who may be supposed to have had the ability to construct such notions had they wished, directed their speculative thought to the loftier, and in Greek conditions more practical, questions of ethics and politics. At any rate, whatever be the reason, the Greeks did not, like the Romans, 'clarify their legal notions', and when, as in contracts and conveyances of property, they had to be technical, the development of their technique to meet practical needs was the result not of juristic logic but of drafting ingenuity. These propositions were advanced by Pringsheim in his *Greek Law of Sale* and Jones's work confirms and illustrates them in their application to other branches of Greek law. See, for instance, p. 209 on the unlaywer-like concept of *φανερά οὐδία*, and the immediately following pages on the vague and variable Greek conception of ownership as contrasted with the precise Roman notion of *dominium* (note the impossibility of legally classifying the position of a Greek slave manumitted with a *παράνομος*), and see p. 239 on the

similar lack of conceptual demarcation in mortgages and securities, although this was a branch of the law which for economic reasons was comparatively well developed.

It is not only the private lawyer who must be surprised by the backwardness of the Greeks. The public lawyer, the politician, and the administrator must wonder how any people could operate a system of government which included a legislative assembly and the enactment of laws without developing some canons of statutory interpretation; yet apparently (see p. 113) the Athenians had not conceived the maxim *specialia generalibus derogant* or even the elementary *posteriora prioribus derogant*. As for the defects and abuses of Athenian court procedure they are too notorious for repetition here; they may be partly explained by Jones's remark (p. 150) that: 'For long the courts conceived themselves as primarily concerned to patch up a dispute and to establish the peace rather than to recognize and give effect to existing rights.'

This weakness of Greek law as law is, by the way, used by Mr. M. I. Finley, reviewing the present work in the *Law Quarterly Review* for April 1957, as an argument against Jones's assumption of the essential homogeneity of Greek legal institutions. No state with such weak law, Finley contends, could have functioned unless there were some other cement to hold it together; in Finley's view this cement was provided by the sense of *κοινωνία* in each *πόλις*; Greek law should therefore be studied 'against its *polis* background' taking into account 'the great and obvious difference in political institutions, social organization, and even objectives, among the many hundreds of autonomous *poleis*'. Here is matter for lively controversy.

However that may be, Greek legal ideas and methods survived the independent *πόλις*. Our only complaint of Jones's concluding chapter on 'Greek Law and the Barbarians' is of its extreme brevity. The tenacity of Greek notions and Greek drafting styles in the Roman-Hellenistic world (and even under Parthian rule) and, after the Arabs had driven Greek institutions from the Middle East, on the mainland of Greece 'as a species of customary law tolerated by the Romans' is a notable illustration of the force of what the jurist Ehrlich (who was familiar with comparable Slavonic survivals under the Austrian Empire) called the 'living law' of the people as distinguishable from the official law of the State.

The Oxford University Press has nearly but not quite maintained its reputation for typographical accuracy. We have discovered two or three misprints, mostly of accents and breathings. With these trivia we may include the official on p. 56 who bears the curious Early-English-looking title of 'the pole-march' and is only at a second glance recognized as a wrongly hyphenated 'polemarch', and we may note that Jones on p. 177 uses the word 'portion' and on p. 236 the word 'charge' in a legal sense which may not be apparent to the mere classical scholar, just as on p. 295 he uses the word 'liturgy' in a sense which may not be apparent to the mere lawyer.

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A. H. CAMPBELL

ROMAN FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN LAW

H. F. JOLOWICZ: *Roman Foundations of Modern Law*. Pp. xx+217. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. Cloth, 35s. net.

WHEN, in the last years of the nineteenth century, the work of drafting the German Civil Code began and it was clear that the long life of the *Corpus Iuris* as a binding source of law in Europe was coming to an end, Roman law, as Maitland put it, was handed over to the historians. The result was the *Interpolationenjagd*: for the first third, or more, of this century the efforts of scholars were almost exclusively directed to the excavation of the pure classical law, and the importance of Justinian's compilation as the foundation of much of European law was little emphasized. As was inevitable, however, from the nature of the material and of the methods used, the excavation in its later years yielded returns of diminishing value and some scholars began to turn in other directions. The late Professor Jolowicz was among them. He had as sure a grasp as any of the methods and achievements of interpolation research, as his edition of *Dig.* xlvii. 2 showed, but in the latter part of his life he came more and more to believe that, as he put it in a note published in the preface to the book under review, 'the modern teaching of Roman law from a purely historical point of view has militated against the understanding of Continental systems, whereas previously it was possible to refer to "civil law" generally in comparison with English law, either favourably or unfavourably, and, where found convenient, to borrow principles from it'. In his inaugural lecture at Oxford in 1949 he traced the successive swings of the pendulum between 'Utility and Elegance in Civil Law Studies' and lamented the fact that the most recent swing in the direction of Elegance had divorced the student from the Roman principles in their modern form. 'Our graduates know all about the *lex Aelia Sentia*, but do they know enough about what Lord Mansfield understood by Roman law?' He detected recent improvements (and there have been more since he spoke) 'but there are, I think, still very serious deficiencies. These are perhaps most glaring in the law of persons. A few texts on legitimacy, for instance, or survivorship, have been discussed from time immemorial, and it is only in the light of this discussion that modern European, including English, law can be fully understood. But I fear that few lectures on Roman law quote them, for they are not in the *Institutes*. If discussed at all they are relegated to Jurisprudence, as is also the subject of corporations, although again much of the discussion has been on texts taken from the *Digest*, and the subject is one normally treated abroad under the heading of "persons". The texts on interpretation are also unduly neglected . . . it is only when the Roman materials are seen in the light of subsequent 'civilian' developments that their full value for the understanding of the law can be realised.'

He therefore set out to write a large book to meet this need. At his death in 1954 only the first part had been written, but fortunately this covers those topics in which he found, in the passage just quoted, the deficiencies to be most glaring: the Sources (including interpretation and custom), the Law of Persons (in the narrow sense), and Family Law. Within this field there is no attempt at completeness: the book is rather a collection of essays on subjects which caught the author's interest. His method is best described by himself in another note included in the preface (which was put together by Professor Lawson,

who, with Professor Daube, prepared the book for publication): the book is an attempt 'with a minimum of legal history, to set out the outline of what appears in the *Corpus Iuris* and then the highest common factor of the deductions which European lawyers have made from the text, together with some of the main variations'. This is particularly successful with, for example, the law of marriage: he gives an account, which it would be difficult to better, first of the essential features of the original Roman institution, then of the erratic impact on it in the later Empire of the quite different Christian conception of marriage, and finally he traces the surviving Roman features in the canon and modern civil law. Here and there one meets a flash of his laconic humour, as when he remarks, of the modern conception of conjugal rights, the restitution of which can be claimed in a court of law, that 'Ulpian might have had some difficulty in understanding an action of this sort'.

It will be seen that this book is of interest more to lawyers than to classical scholars, for whom it will not always make easy reading, but anyone interested in the continuity (and, sometimes, the astonishing distortion) of the Roman legal tradition in the modern world will find here much to reward him and much to make him regret once again the author's untimely death.

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BARRY NICHOLAS

THE 'INFINITE' IN ANCIENT THOUGHT

RODOLFO MONDOLFO: *L'Infinito nel pensiero dell' antichità classica*. Pp. x+635. Florence: 'La Nuova Italia', 1956. Paper, L. 4,500.

THIS is the second edition of a work which, under the title of *L'Infinito nel pensiero dei Greci*, was noticed in *C.R.* xlix (1935), 153. Mondolfo's chief object is to show that the Greek genius was too many-sided to be characterized exclusively by the love of clarity, order, and measure, which Lessing, Winckelmann, and the other 'neo-classicists' held to be its essential note. It is curious that in seeking to refute this 'Apolline' interpretation of the Greek mind he makes no reference to its ancient sanctions, beyond putting on 'Socratic conceptualism' the responsibility for the bad name which later attached to the 'infinite' (unlimited); thus there is no mention of the ἀπειρον (inconclusiveness) as a vice of style, described in Aristotle, *Rhetoric* iii, or of *Poetics* vii on the aesthetic unsatisfactoriness of the παμπέρετες and the πάμπικρον. It seems likely too that the Pythagorean preference for Limit considerably antedated Socrates. Mondolfo, however, objects even to the most moderate attempts to contrast the modern tendency to combine the concepts of 'infinite' and 'perfect' with the ancient habit of keeping them apart and identifying the former with the indeterminate and incomplete—cf. the helpful statement of Diès, *Le cycle mystique*, p. 5.

After a section on 'origins' the book consists mainly of a twofold survey, ending with the Neoplatonists, of very various doctrines involving very various concepts of 'infinity'. Sandwiched between these is a shorter section on infinite number and the infinitesimal, which seeks to read the mind of ancient mathematicians from the Pythagoreans to Archimedes, and to show, with by no means complete success, that the mathematical achievements of more modern times are to be found there in germ. Similarly the fifth section, which is new,

finds ancient sources or parallels for certain Renaissance and post-Renaissance developments, for example with reference to 'infinity' or 'eternity' as a possible quality of life here and now; it concludes with an appendix on Kant's fourth antinomy.

The first of the two main sections finds 'eternity' recognized by Homer, in certain expressions like 'the ever-living gods', in the sense of indefinitely extended duration. This notion 'prepares' for theories involving 'eternal motion', which, against Burnet, must have been asserted, perhaps by the Pythagoreans, before Parmenides denied it. It is with Parmenides (Mondolfo thinks) that the idea of the eternal as 'extra-temporal' first appears 'decisively'. Criticisms of the first edition to the effect that Parmenides' denial of the reality of temporal succession hardly amounts to the assertion of such a positive doctrine of 'eternity' as is found, for example, in Spinoza, are rejected; and the 'eternal present', both as an inclusive framework of objective reality and as a datum of subjective 'spiritual' experience, is found in the timeless and unchanging being of the Forms in Plato and in Aristotle's account of the transcendent *Actus Purus*. There are here some speculations on circularity as a symbol of infinite time; for this Heraclitus fr. 103 (on the coincidence of beginning and end in a circle) is cited but is clearly irrelevant (see Kirk, *The Cosmic Fragments*, p. 115). Mondolfo rightly points out some of the difficulties arising from the fact that very different thoughts may be expressed in the same language: for example, 'is' or 'is always' may in Plato refer either to timeless being or to the incessant coming-to-be of phenomena. The relation between these two aspects of the 'infinite', i.e. between time and eternity, was of course a recurring problem. Mondolfo thinks that one of the ways in which the world 'mirrors' transcendent reality is through the perennial chain of causes and effects which is an imitation or projection of the timeless, though 'separate' from it. After Aristotle Mondolfo finds a gradual replacement of the notion of extra-temporal eternity by the notion of infinite temporal series; and that this is the same change as from teleology to the belief in a mechanical succession of causes and effects. But the antithesis between mortality and immortality was not forgotten and received new expression, for example, when Epicurus echoes Plato and Aristotle in bidding us live like a god each instant by contemplating truth, the process of revival culminating in 'the religious period', when Philo (for example) showed himself as much Greek as Jewish in taking the Infinite as the sum of perfection, and the Platonic opposition of time and eternity was re-interpreted by Neoplatonism and by Christianity.

With regard to spatial and numerical 'infinity' it may be granted that certain immensities (Tartarus, aether, ocean, fire, storm, etc.) did not escape the awe and admiration of Greeks from Homer onwards. But this fact does not argue the presence of a Romantic love of the formless and spontaneous. It is admitted in a footnote (p. 275) that the 'boundless' for Homer and Hesiod meant merely something whose limits we do not know (but, I should add, certainly do not deny) or whose parts we are unable to count. Only a robust faith in history as a tale of necessary progress will regard such expressions as a 'preparation' for the familiar puzzles regarding 'infinity' raised by mathematicians and philosophers down to the present day. Much is naturally made of the fact that Anaximander gave a divine dignity to his Boundless; and he is contrasted with Aristotle, who assigned infinity to the acting force and not to sensible substance. Later it seems to be admitted that Anaximander's is a negative kind of infinity,

whereas Aristotle's, like the infinity assigned to God by Philo and the Neoplatonists, is positive. Mondolfo's general thesis seems to be that those thinkers who opted for a finite universe were somehow traitors to the Greek spirit, who really knew better than they pretended. Parmenides called his 'sphere' limited; but an analysis of his words can be made to show that it could have no periphery to limit its continuity; it must therefore be boundless after all. Unless he be interpreted 'dynamically' as asserting a progressive formation of Being, he is refuted by Zeno (all that is, is in space, and so *ad infinitum*) and 'corrected' by Melissus. Similarly Empedocles was false to his assertion of limit when he called his sphere unlimited—but did he in Homeric fashion perhaps mean no more than that it was very large? Mondolfo would like to systematize Plato's myths, in defiance, as it seems to me, of their nature and intention. Even so he can make little of Plato's cosmology, though he would like to believe that Plato admitted infinity of material and extension, like any mechanical materialist, and that he would have asserted an infinity of worlds if he had not been led astray by an undue predilection for teleology—or so Mondolfo infers from *Tim.* 55 c. In this way Plato, it is thought, showed his kinship with the Pre-Socratics, who all (with the exception of Heraclitus, Parmenides, and Empedocles, but including Diogenes of Apollonia and Archelaus) are alleged to have affirmed the infinity of the universe and an innumerable plurality of worlds. Plato also showed his true affiliation by making the 'unlimited' (in his latest phase, and if Aristotle is to be believed) a constituent element in the Forms themselves. Aristotle too is found to be inconsistently entertaining infinite regresses, particularly as regards past and future time; but it is not made clear that 'infinite' in the sense of an indefinite possibility of increase or decrease is a very different notion from that of actual numerical infinity, in which it seems unlikely that any of the thinkers mentioned intended to express belief. It will be seen that much of the argumentation is of a verbal character, and the old criticism still stands, that it would have been an advantage to have the physical, philosophic, and religious doctrines of 'infinity' distinguished more carefully and separately investigated. Doctrines of the infinite reach of mind, divine and human, and of infinite intensity of immediate experience (joy, contemplation) come in very incongruously at times. The criticism may be illustrated by rather forced parallels between ancient and modern; for example the Renaissance aphorism that infinity is *tota in toto et in qualibet totius parte* is thought to have some real relationship with Anaxagoras' *ἐν παντί πάντα*.

It would be easy to praise the book for width of learning and smoothness of exposition. But as an attempt to synthesize the heterogeneous utterances of antiquity on the 'infinite' it cannot be regarded as a success.

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J. TATE

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY

A History of Technology. Volume II: *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages.* Edited by CHARLES SINGER, E. J. HOLMYARD, A. R. HALL, TREVOR I. WILLIAMS. Pp. lix+802; 44 plates, 695 text-figures. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Cloth, £8. 8s. net.

THIS volume is magnificently produced and, except for its weight, is a pleasure to read and to use. Its chapters have been written by scholars—among them is

Dr. Singer himself—who are acknowledged as authorities in their special fields of study. It is gratifying to find that the chapter on Mining was given to the late Mr. C. N. Bromehead. Some of his excellent work on Greek and Roman mining is thus made easily accessible for the first time. It is equally pleasant to read chapters by the distinguished Dutch scholar, Professor E. J. Forbes, on a variety of subjects (Metallurgy, Food and Drink, Roads, Power, and Hydraulic Engineering) which he has already made his own, but which he here presents in a style far more natural than that of his books. As a result we can now fully appreciate the quality and spaciousness of his scholarship.

Every part of the book is of the greatest interest; almost every part of it commands confidence and respect. It is therefore all the more surprising and painful to notice that one chapter falls below the rest. This is the chapter on Shipbuilding. To write on Greek and Roman warships requires courage, but to overlook or ignore what Tarn has written about them is not courage, but sheer recklessness or something worse. Hence, among other absurdities, we read (p. 573): 'it is fair to say that the cataphracts of Mark Antony at the battle of Actium must have been comparable in size, and to some extent in under-water body, with Nelson's ships at Trafalgar.' How could ships of that size have been controlled by steering-oars? Commandant Lefebvre des Noëttes, whose work on harness and horse-traction is known to other contributors, wrote a book on steering (*De la marine antique à la marine moderne*, Paris, 1935) in which he showed how strictly the size of ancient ships was limited by the absence of an efficient steering device, such as the stern-post rudder was later to be. Incidentally Lefebvre des Noëttes suggests (op. cit., p. 12) that ancient metallurgy could not produce reliable fittings for a rudder of this kind. He thus introduces us to a limiting factor in technical development, the absence of suitable materials, which, as we shall later see, does not appear to be sufficiently stressed in the volume which we are reviewing.

Elsewhere there is little to criticize in the description of techniques—although in the chapter on Building-Construction more emphasis could have been laid on the boldness and originality with which Roman architects exploited the exceptional properties of pozzolana cement—and there is much to admire: for example, the Dejbjerg wagon (pp. 538, 540, 551), with its swivelling front-axle, roller-bearings, and other refinements, explains once and for all the high reputation of Celtic cartwrights; and in other fields fresh light is brought to bear on ceramics, glass-making, harness, and harbour-works.

In the final chapter a certain bias against classical antiquity is noticeable. This mars a brilliant epilogue to the first two volumes. Dr. Singer has every right to remind us that in technology Greece and Rome did not play an exceptionally distinguished role among the nations of antiquity. But they did not by any means disgrace themselves in this sphere of activity: that seems quite clear from the evidence presented in the chapters of this volume. And yet we are asked to believe that with the advent of the classical cultures 'technological expertness' tends to decline rather than to rise, and that moreover this tendency 'is a phenomenon inherent in the history of Greece and Rome, for they rose to their might by the destruction of the more ancient civilizations that they displaced' (p. 755). These are giant words leaping vast chasms. Are we to infer that Greece and Rome were nastily aggressive in a way in which Babylonia and Assyria and Persia were not? And does not the word 'destruction' mask a confusion between 'loss of political power' and 'the dis-

appearance of artistry and technical skill'? The former does not necessarily lead to the latter: it did not, for example, in Egypt, Syria, Persia, or Etruria.

Dr. Singer suggests that this tendency for 'technological expertness' to decline with the coming of the classical cultures 'will become apparent if the relevant chapters of volume i be compared with the corresponding chapters in the present volume' (p. 755). We shall hardly be accused of unfair dealing if we choose for this test chapter 23 of volume i, 'Fine Metal-work'. Of course, in a sense everything that is presented in this chapter after the gold coffin of Tutankhamen is an anticlimax. But leaving this point aside, we find no hint of a coming decline in technical skill. On the contrary, the skill of Greek goldsmiths is foreshadowed (p. 658), and the bronze lion-gryphon from Bactria, a work of approximately the third century B.C. (pp. 631-2), shows that Persian traditions of craftsmanship were not broken by Alexander's conquests. At the end of the chapter we read (p. 662): 'the work of some of the pioneers and discoverers reached so high a standard aesthetically and technically that it has scarcely been equalled in the long history of metal-working. However, there yet remained for later craftsmen other fields for exploitation. . . . Consideration of the finest flowering of these . . . must be reserved for subsequent volumes. . . .' We turn to chapter 13 of volume ii and on the first page (p. 449) read, with regard to early Greek and Etruscan jewellery, that 'the goldsmith's craft has never yielded better granular work, more delicate filigree, or finer plaited chain-work'. The compliments continue and are extended to Roman work; and later the technical qualities of Greek repoussé work and cast bronzes are described in the warmest terms (pp. 470-2, 476). I cannot think that the writer of this chapter has conveyed the impression that the classical period brought about a decline in technical skill, and I do not believe that it was his intention to do so.

Perhaps one should not criticize too minutely the bold strokes of one paragraph. Dr. Singer himself has virtually warned us against making hasty generalizations of this kind in a passage at the very end of the volume, where he expresses the hope that when the series of volumes is complete 'there may emerge a clearer interrelationship of the techniques to each other and to the cultures in which they have arisen'.

In particular we may hope that when we have discovered in later volumes the conditions under which mechanization of industry can take place we shall understand more clearly why it did not take place under the Roman Empire. This much-debated question is discussed by Professor Forbes in his chapter on Power. He mentions the difficulty of using water-mills profitably in the rivers of the Mediterranean basin, the cheapness of labour, the low status of the engineer, the lack of markets for mass-produced goods, and the effects of slavery in lowering the status of the free craftsman and in discouraging the exercise of mechanical ingenuity. As is now fashionable, slavery is regarded as the arch-villain of this piece; for, writes Forbes (p. 605), 'combined with restricted demand it had frustrated mechanical inventiveness and the organization of efficient methods of production of cheap goods for all'. But after all, it has taken several centuries for the free labour of modern society to come within sight of this end, and one may doubt whether the industries of classical antiquity would have progressed more rapidly towards it even if they had been worked entirely by free labour (see W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Philadelphia, 1955, p. 120).

For there is one factor not mentioned by Forbes, a factor far more frustrating to the engineer than lack of status or the use of slave-labour, namely the want of adequate materials. This severely limiting factor is introduced momentarily by Monsieur B. Gille in his chapter on Machines (p. 640): 'If we are surprised that obvious improvements were neglected, it should be remembered that the same main difficulty in machinery-construction was encountered during the Middle Ages as in antiquity, namely the want of adequate materials. Most machines remained of wood, which lacks strength and resistance to frictional wear.' This is refreshing and sensible, and so too is the same writer's remark (p. 649) that 'the development of mechanization was retarded by many factors that are still acting . . . there was traditionalism, strengthened . . . by the simple resistance to a new device'. It is a pity that M. Gille did not develop these points: perhaps he was modest enough to think them too obvious.

If in classical antiquity mechanization was limited and the efforts of engineers were too often wasted on show pieces (p. 603), this may well have been due to the simple fact that metallurgy could not yet produce the gears, the bearings, the axles that would make water-driven machinery durable, adaptable, and capable of transmitting considerable power. If it is argued that the metallurgist too was frustrated by the existence of slavery, then we must turn to a branch of engineering in which it is agreed that the exercise of ingenuity received every encouragement from official quarters, namely the production of mechanical missile-weapons (p. 602). Here attempts to improve on skeins of hair or cord as the means of propulsion failed because metallurgy could not provide a practical substitute. Catapults worked by cords were being designed as late as 1588 (p. 724). Philo's metal springs could be used only on a small scale (p. 713), and as for Ctesibius' cylinders filled with compressed air (*loc. cit.*), it would be interesting to know how recently metallurgists mastered the problems involved in their construction.

Thus the availability of suitable materials, and particularly of suitable metals, seems to be the factor that has above all determined the rate of mechanical progress and that has so often rendered its tempo spasmodic and unpredictable. And here we may remind ourselves of what was written in volume i (p. 60): 'Human progress has always depended largely on opportunism—in the earliest days casual and obtuse, but later becoming intermittently persistent in certain directions, and in our own day strongly and systematically canalized towards many defined ends . . . but chance continues to play an important though sporadic part in scientific and technological progress.' If intermittent progress in technology was the most that any ancient society could achieve, it seems strange to blame one of them for failing to do more, and no less strange to attribute its failure in the main to a cause which is of doubtful relevance rather than to a factor or to factors which are both relevant and ubiquitous.

But this is a book which is none the worse for being at times deliberately provocative. It is because they have not been excessively inhibited that Dr. Singer and his collaborators have achieved something almost miraculous for these times: they have produced a work of reference which is readable, enjoyable, and stimulating from beginning to end. Readers with no technical or scientific training will find only a few details that they cannot understand; and this in itself is remarkable.

The text-figures and plates are admirable. The sketch of the 'Theseum' on

p. 399 is among the few that are inadequate. There are some minor mistakes: p. 5 read *milto sinopike*; p. 26, fig. 24 Latomia; p. 58 Pasion and Kephalos are not place-names; p. 121 *elaion*; p. 134 the Monte Testaccio is not at Ostia, but in Rome, near the Porta Ostiensis; p. 142 *ros solis*; p. 232 Newstead, near Melrose; p. 241 *armaria*; p. 368 (and index) Phocaea; p. 526 *lithostrota*; p. 569 Polybius, not Porcopius? p. 671 Wroxeter, not Worcester. Theophrastus' description of *poros* as a kind of marble (p. 398, n. 1) applies only to an Egyptian variety.

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PERSPECTIVE

JOHN WHITE: *Perspective in Ancient Drawing and Painting*. Pp. 87; 12 pages of plates. London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1956. Paper, 16s. net.

'THE Greeks were the first people to discover painting in our sense, to make pictures which do not only consist of coloured outlines but which use light and shade for modelling; and later they reflected light by high-lights and changing colours; they achieved perspective effects by using the vanishing-point and reducing the scale of the more distant figures, and by the direction of the light and the colour scale they emphasized the foreground and gave the impression of distance.' So Rumpf in his paper in the *J.H.S.* of 1947, in which he traced the history of this 'painting in our sense', and of perspective with it, from its beginnings in the late fifth century down to Julio-Claudian times. Most evidence for this nearly vanished art is surely to be found in his discussion. What has White to add?

White seems unconscious of Rumpf. On the other hand, he attempts no continuous history himself. He treats fully only three isolated topics, (i) the evidence of vase-painting for the beginnings of perspective, (ii) the confirmation in early Pompeian work of a 'flat axial' system, with parallel planes and vanishing-point, to which Vitruvius alludes, (iii) the possible evidence of late Pompeii for other perspective systems—the possibility, in fact, that some ancients were already curving their perspective to offset the visual 'splay' caused by wide angles. The third is disputable and less important than the other two; and all three do not add up to a connected history.

In (i), written on the whole with good sense, we learn of the earliest sustained effort at foreshortening in the chariot groups of black-figure vases and contemporary reliefs. Then Euthymides successfully foreshortened human figures. Sometime before 450 we find a very soft treatment of obliquity. But only with Italiote work do we find a proper ground plane. The viewpoint is generally low; and, while the eye level is fairly well maintained, there are no correct recessions to single vanishing points. All this is natural; especially since, unlike Renaissance painters, Greek artists had no stereotyped Late Antique scenes, with extensive floor-planes, from which to take their perspective.

One may criticize some details. White may not have seen the Laconian kylix in the Villa Giulia with its attempt at architectural perspective. But should he not have discussed the recession in groups of figures on such reliefs as Villa Albani 980? Then, he seems to believe that the Siphnian chariot and

horses were intended to appear in three-quarter view, wheeling towards the spectator. But, if so, why is the nearest, pivotal horse, which should have turned as much as any, in such rigid profile?

In (ii) White concludes from Vitruvius i. 2. 2 and vii praef. 11 that there was a science, discovered by Anaxagoras and Democritus, of finding a true vanishing-point perspective able to unify whole designs, its essence summarized in the words 'ad circini centrum omnium linearum responsus', i.e. the accurate convergence of all lines towards a single point (White, p. 60). Vitruvius is describing not the visual cone but the picture. We must not be surprised that he does not use the term 'vanishing-point'. Even Alberti did not; for even he did not relate his pyramid of sight to the convergent lines of his picture. The earliest paintings at Pompeii show traces of the perspective system to which Vitruvius alludes.

I agree with White's main thesis, but not with his arguments. He parades his interpretation of Vitruvius as his own achievement. But Morgan had translated i. 2. 2. thus: 'Perspective is the method of sketching a front with the sides withdrawing into the background, the lines all meeting in the centre of a circle.' White claims to follow Granger's text. He does, indeed, at vii praef. 11, 'quemadmodum oporteat, ad aciem oculorum radiorumque extensionem centro constituto, ad lineas ratione naturali respondere', but not Granger's translation, 'if a fixed centre is taken for the outward glance of the eyes and the projection of the radii, we must follow these lines in accordance with a natural law'. I do not see how from his text he reaches his own 'literal' translation: 'How it is necessary that, a fixed centre being established, the lines correspond by natural law to the sight of the eyes and the extension of the rays.' A serious scholar would have consulted Rose's edition.

I am less ready than White to believe that the Ancients never defined a vanishing-point. It is, after all, the apex at infinity of a particular visual cone. Now Democritus, we know, studied the convergent sides of cones, and came very near the subject of infinitesimals (Heath, *Manual*, pp. 119-20). Would such a man, writing on perspective, reach no coherent philosophical definition of vanishing-points and the horizon? On the other hand, Vitruvius nowhere mentions the vanishing-line of the ground plane and the method of finding vanishing-points along it. Because of this he can give no proof that the Ancients ever went more than half-way towards a true perspective. The best evidence still seems to me the presumed abilities of Democritus.

White confesses on p. 69 that he has not asked when the system was invented, where it flourished, and whether, for example, it included proportional diminution in the figures. Surely it formed part of *σκιαγραφία*, which exploited, according to *Republic* 602 c, the varying appearances of size and shape caused by recession and refraction, and the colouring of surfaces to imitate projections and hollows. See also *Theaetetus* 208 e, where Socrates seems to stand too near the *σκιαγράφημα* to take in the recession to the vanishing-points. Pompeian painters (Rumpf, *op. cit.*, p. 19) used misty lines to indicate distance—the technique called 'aerial perspective' in the nineteenth century. Personally I have no doubt that scientific painting began all at once towards 400 B.C. But I should have enjoyed a responsible discussion of this central question.

White's illustrations are adequate, if small. The misprints are rather gross for so official a booklet. I note 'Casa del Ara' at p. 84, line 6 and 'Villa dei Ministeri' at p. 65, line 2. On p. 81 and in the caption to Plate 10a Pylades

appears as 'Pilades'. Someone should have corrected the version on p. 24 of Euthymides' famous ejaculation.

White has ability and some knowledge. But he should have finished the job. He should also take more pains with his style. It is surprising to find so incomplete a work approved for publication by the Hellenic Society itself.

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ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE

E. BALDWIN SMITH: *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*. Pp. x+219; 175 figs. Princeton: University Press (London, Oxford University Press), 1956. Cloth, 60s. net.

THIS is a very learned and very long-winded work, in which a wearisome repetitiveness often tries the reader's patience sorely. With the author's underlying assumption, that buildings and their architectural features should not be divorced from the history of ideas, few will disagree; and the special features that he chooses for investigation—city-gates and palace-entrances and the domes and ciboria associated with them—are in themselves of considerable significance. But a more concise and less overloaded method of approach would have held our interest more securely and presented the general argument more emphatically and effectively.

In Chapter i the author discusses the 'city-gate concept', by which he means the intimate connexion, in the Ancient, Hellenistic, and Christian East and throughout the Roman West, of the city- and palace-entrance with the divine ruler's *Adventus* and the seat of his heaven-inspired authority. Under the later Roman Empire this symbolic gateway assumed the form of a *castrum* fortified with flanking towers and adorned with an upper arcade for the Emperor's Epiphany and with domes and cupolas suggestive of celestial power. That a number of the features of early Church architecture outwardly reflect this pagan concept may well be conceded. But did the Christians really adopt the term *basilica* because they thought of their *ecclesiae* as palaces or 'royal structures' (p. 15)? Why could not the term have been derived from the civil basilicas, the colonnaded and often apsed halls, with which the earliest churches shared these basic elements? It is patently absurd to suggest that Baptism, the rite enjoined by Christ Himself, was adopted by Christianity under the influence of a pagan city-gate lustration ceremony, that is itself but conjectural at the best (pp. 26-27). Again, a church was *porta coeli* as being the scene of the administration of the sacraments and preaching of the Gospel through which the Christian soul gained entrance to Heaven; there is no necessary relation between the phrase and the 'triumphal arches' of pagan emperor-worship (pp. 30-31). The Cancellaria relief showing Domitian with Victory, Mars, and Minerva is almost certainly not an *Adventus* (p. 23), but a *Profectio*. The Fins d'Annecy patera (p. 38, note 99) is very doubtfully antique.

Chapter ii, 'Imperial Tradition', elaborates the theme of the late-Roman palace, with its towers, military portal, domes, and ciboria, as it is portrayed in art. The author's case for identifying as palaces or *domus divinae* the towered country villas depicted in three fourth-century mosaic pavements from Carthage does not strike the present reviewer as particularly convincing (pp. 70-73, figs. 65-67).

Chapter iii attempts to establish the survival in medieval church-architecture of the pagan Roman architectural features analysed in previous chapters. In Chapter iv the origin of the royal ciborium is traced to Pharaonic Egypt and the evidence for its appearance in Roman imperial times, and under Nero in particular, is usefully assembled. Here it is too facily assumed that the Fourth Pompeian Style was derived exclusively from Alexandria (p. 120). On p. 107 *urbs* should be read for *urbis*, on p. 124 'Serapeum' for 'Serapheum', on p. 125 CLAVD(ia) NER(onis) F for CLAVD(ia) NER(o) F, and ADLOCVTIO for AD LOCVTIO.

Chapter v provides a valuable survey of domical vestibules and halls in Roman and Byzantine palaces, beginning with the Great Palace at Istanbul and working back to buildings of the pre-Hadrianic period. On pp. 143-5 H. P. L'Orange's equation of the Piazza Armerina villa with a palace of Maximian is swallowed whole and uncritically; and the implications of the great hunt-mosaic are totally ignored.

Chapters vi, vii, and viii, which are concerned with architectural symbolism in the western medieval Church, in the Byzantine Empire, and in the Islamic world, do not fall strictly within the scope of this journal. But one cannot refrain from noting the strange form 'Blessed Sacraments' on p. 154, and the fact that the first two of these sections raise the whole question as to how far the medieval Christian king or emperor, whether western or eastern, can really be said to have inherited the divinity and cultus of the classical pagan ruler. It is undoubtedly true that many of the outward forms and ceremonies surrounding those potentates had their counterparts in the trappings of Hellenistic and imperial ruler-apotheosis. But even in the East, where the emperors succeeded in asserting their pretensions to be the sole representatives of Christ on earth, they remained but God's vice-gerents, never claiming to share His throne (p. 174); and in the West the point at issue between pope and emperor was whether the latter as wielder of the temporal power directly bestowed by God should rank before or after the former as spiritual vicar of Christ. Again, if medieval monastic houses saw God Himself in the guests and strangers whom they entertained, the inspiration behind them was not the Adventus of a pagan emperor (p. 164), but quite simply the words of Christ as recorded in the Gospels.

The line-drawings are, on the whole, adequate for their purpose, although we should have welcomed good photographs of the original coins and of extant buildings. Such photographs as do appear, as of certain paintings, mosaics, and ivories, could have been of better quality.

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ROMAN SARCOPHAGI

GENNARO PESCI: *Sarcophagi romani di Sardegna*. Pp. 135; 114 plates. Rome: Bretschneider, 1957. Paper, L. 10,000.

OF the seventy-eight items which this catalogue comprises, sixty-nine are now in Sardinia, two have 'emigrated' to Aglié in Piedmont and to the Louvre, and seven are known from literary references only. A third of the total number is concentrated in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Cagliari, while the other pieces are scattered about in various churches and collections in the

capital and at eight other places in the island. Some are mere fragments, but in the great majority of cases the front at least of the sarcophagus is fully preserved; and if the third- and fourth-century strigilated types predominate, the series as a whole is rich and varied and includes one theme, a battle between Centaurs and wild beasts (No. 15), that is at present unique in the Roman sarcophagus repertory, and several other scenes are of especial interest iconographically. It is, in fact, a very useful corpus of material, which justifies the labour and expense that have been lavished on the plates. The general standard of the 152 illustrations is high; and the fine 'close-ups' of some of the portraits, other heads, and details of figure-groups are a valuable contribution to the study of imperial sculpture.

The arrangement of the objects in the catalogue (prefaced by a brief general introduction) is topographical, according to the locations in which they are now to be found. But a useful table at the end lists them chronologically. Under each item the author gives particulars of shape, material, provenance, dimensions, and state of preservation, a minute description and aesthetic appreciation of its carved decoration, and an interpretation of its funerary symbolism, in which he leans heavily on Cumont's monumental *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (1942) and is, on occasion, somewhat long-winded and repetitive. Apart from a few pieces that are worked in native stone, Sardinia's Roman sarcophagi are of foreign, mainly Greek, marbles, and were clearly imported, ready made, from foreign workshops, some of which were certainly located in Rome and Ostia. In the island itself there is no evidence of any tradition of marble-carving; and it is likely that the portraits on these sarcophagi were executed on the spot by foreign sculptors who accompanied their products.

The author's dating of the individual pieces is, in the great majority of cases, acceptable. But there are some exceptions to this, two of which must be mentioned. No. 63 (Figs. 132-6) can hardly be as late as the time of Constantine. Its bearded 'philosopher' heads are best paralleled on the mid-third-century Seven Sages and Nine Muses sarcophagus in the Museo Torlonia (C.A.H. plates v, 198a). No. 58 (Figs. 105-6), with a Latin cross prominently displayed on its central panel, is unlikely to be of the pre-Constantinian period to which Dr. Pesci assigns it—unless, indeed, it is gnostic. For while a Latin cross is featured in one of the paintings in the third-century gnostic Hypogeum of the Aurelii in Rome, the cross does not appear in orthodox Catholic Christian contexts until about the middle of the fourth century, as, for example, under the Chi-Rho-in-wreath on the Resurrection sarcophagi and behind the Virgin's chair in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi on a sarcophagus-lid recently discovered under St. Peter's.

A few other minor points may be noted. No. 32: fighting cocks are more likely to allude to the battle of life than to be 'a symbol of immortality'. No. 61: the two Cupids with baskets, standing one at either end, are probably Genii of other-world prosperity, not two of the four Seasons. No. 62: the *ascia* bibliography is out of date; and the piece need not be Christian, since the sheep on the door could symbolize the pagan pastoral paradise and the scrolls could refer to secular learning.

LAURAND'S MANUAL

L. LAURAND et A. LAURAS: *Manuel des études grecques et latines*. Tome i: *Grèce*. Édition entièrement refondue par A. Lauras. Pp. viii+676. Paris: Picard, 1956. Paper.

THIS well-known manual has proved its usefulness throughout many years. It has now been revised once more, and the contents have been rearranged in two volumes. The sections which were formerly collected in a third volume, and which have now been inserted at suitable points in the first, include the notes on epigraphy, palaeography, and numismatics, the chapter on Greek and Latin metrics, and the former appendix on the sciences in antiquity. But the work is still a collection of fascicles, each with its own index and table of contents, with the result that those to the first two of the three which make up this volume are hard to find at pp. 167-82 and 451-60 respectively. The select bibliographies are among the most useful features of this volume; they have been brought up to date (1955) with great care and deserve to be warmly praised.

In the first fascicle a dozen pages on the geography of Greece lead up to a résumé of Greek history from the Minoan period to 146 B.C. In the text of this summary the twenty-three small maps which used to form a separate 'Atlas' have now been inset, unchanged, at the appropriate places. The remainder comprises sixteen chapters in about 100 pages on 'institutions', including housing, education, religion, and the theatre. One must not complain too much if the sense of a living and developing community does not emerge from these frankly disjointed heaps of information. The meagre account of the Athenian constitution is one instance where the dry bones remain very obstinately dead; in particular, the paragraphs on Athenian legal antiquities seem not to do justice to what is now known or reasonably conjectured, and it may be significant that the names of R. J. Bonner and G. Smith (*The Administration of Justice*, &c.) are missing from the bibliography. In general, however, the treatment illustrates the fact that a single author coping with a multiplicity of topics may be more successful in giving an intelligible account—because self-contained, free from allusiveness, and confined to the essentials—of each of them than a member of a team of specialists trying to exhaust his subject in a limited space. The danger is that matters in which he does not happen to be interested may receive very superficial treatment; here one might instance the section on arithmetic, which has been abbreviated but not improved—it is still far from complete in itself, leaves out essential information, and gives no help to the student. In some sections, particularly that on architecture, the complete absence of illustrations is a serious disadvantage.

The second fascicle consists of the history of Greek literature from Homer to Plotinus, with the addition of a now much expanded chapter on the Christian literature of the first four centuries concluding with St. John Chrysostom. This is an excellent compendium, and the bibliographies are especially good. It has its dogmatisms, but I have noticed only one error of fact: the statement (p. 300)—not in the fifth edition—that Pericles, who died in 429 B.C., was one of Gorgias' hearers in 427. One still senses an indebtedness to Croiset, save in the treatment of Homer, where the tendency is against the analysts and separatists, and where there is a useful conspectus of the opinions of selected scholars

on the Homeric question, ending with those of Professor Page (*The Homeric Odyssey*, 1955). In support of the traditional view that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had the same author Professor Davison's views are quoted from *C.R.* iv [1954], 212—but they have been modified since then (see *C.R.* vi [1956], 211).

The third fascicle contains a concise and close-packed historical grammar of Greek (phonetics, morphology, syntax) and a section on Greek and Latin metrics. In the latter much more space is given to Latin than to Greek, and, in particular, the treatment of lyric metres is practically concentrated upon Horace. A new and unfortunate mistake occurs on p. 647: the labels 'glyconique' and 'phérécration' have been accidentally interchanged.

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SOME SCHOOL BOOKS

1. J. L. WHITELEY: *Vergil, Georgics, Book iv*. Pp. xxvii+119; 9 plates. London: Macmillan, 1956. Cloth, 4s. 6d.
2. J. L. WHITELEY: *Caesar, Gallic War, Book vii*. Pp. xiv+240; 14 plates; map. London: Macmillan, 1956. Cloth, 6s.
3. C. M. H. MILLAR: *The Roman Army: Selections from various Latin Authors*. Pp. xxi+183; 8 plates. London: Macmillan, 1955. Cloth, 4s. 6d.
4. A. J. WATSON-WEMYSS: *Select Letters of Cicero*. Pp. xvi+229; 10 plates, 2 maps. London: Macmillan, 1957. Cloth, 6s.
5. J. L. WHITELEY: *Titus Livius, Book xx*. Pp. xxiii+173; 3 plates, 5 maps and plans. London: Macmillan, 1957. Cloth, 5s. 6d.

These five books are all well edited and illustrated, with workmanlike introductions, and should prove useful additions to the Modern School Classics Series, which is well bound and printed—and cheap. (1) has some pictures of bees: it includes extracts from Ovid's account of Orpheus and Eurydice. (2) is designed for O Level candidates, and has full notes and useful maps and diagrams. (3) is recommended for a Modern VI or first year Classical VI, and has extracts from Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Frontinus, Tacitus, and Vegetius. (4) will be particularly welcome. It contains the letters published in Tyrrell's *Cicero in his Letters*, with notes and introductions to make it suitable for a Lower VI or a good V. (5) is also well produced, but, unlike (1)–(4), has no vocabulary, although this is promised on the title-page.

6. H. GROSE-HODGE: *A Case of High Treason: Cicero, Pro Rabirio*. (Cambridge Elementary Classics.) Pp. xiv+57. Cambridge: University Press, 1956. Cloth, 4s. 3d.
7. G. M. LYNE: *Personae Comicae*. Pp. 48. Slough: Centaur Books. Paper, 2s.
8. BERTHA TILLY: *The Story of Camilla, from Aeneid vii and xi*. Pp. xix+136; 9 plates, 1 map. Cambridge: University Press, 1956. Cloth, 6s.

9. C. EWAN: *Caesar's Gallic War, Book i.* (Alpha Classics.) Pp. 148: 8 plates, 3 maps. London: Bell, 1957. Cloth, 5s.

(6) which reprints nearly all the *Pro Rabirio*, with notes and vocabulary, will no doubt be as useful for good young Latinists as the editor's excellent *Murder at Larinum*. (7) consists of eight amusing short plays with vocabulary, based on Plautine characters, intended for reading and perhaps acting by pupils at the end of their second year. At the price, it is good value. (8) is a sound edition of *Aeneid* vii. 601-46, 803-17, xi. 336-611, 648-915. The plates show mainly Amazons in Greek sculpture. Notes and vocabulary are accurate and helpful, but surely *qua* in xi. 373 is not an adverb. (9) is well printed, with interesting plates and clear, succinct notes, and is also to be recommended.

10. E. C. KENNEDY: *Roman Poetry and Prose.* (Cambridge Elementary Classics.) Pp. viii+231; map. Cambridge: University Press, 1956. Cloth, 6s.
11. B. J. HODGE and F. KINCHIN SMITH: *Poetry and Prose; A Selection from the less familiar Latin Writers.* (Roman World Series.) Pp. 151. London: Allen & Unwin, 1956. Cloth, 10s. 6d.
12. H. W. F. FRANKLIN: *Fifty Latin Lyrics.* Pp. ix+141. London: Longmans, 1955. Cloth, 6s. 6d.

All these three are edited with notes and vocabularies. (10) has extracts from Caesar (*Civil War*), Virgil (*Aeneid* v), Livy (Book xxvi), and Ovid (*Metamorphoses*). It is designed to provide for six terms' reading before and after O Level, and provides within one volume a good deal of interesting and varied matter. Good value. (11) and (12) both aim at giving a wider selection of Latin than is encountered by most students. (11) has extracts from sixteen authors, from Lucretius to Erasmus; they are well chosen, but one might expect more for the money. (12) has poems from Horace, Catullus, and minor writers such as Claudian and Petronius. The notes have some English translations, and it is an attractive production, intended originally for non-classical sixth forms.

13. M. SCHAFER: Cicero, *Laelius De Amicitia.* Text: pp. 31; notes: pp. 31. Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1956. Paper: DM. 1.60.
14. M. SCHAFER: Cicero, *De Officiis*, ii. Text: pp. 40; notes: pp. 40. Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1956. Paper: DM. 1.60.
15. P. KRARUP: Cicero, *De Republica.* Text: pp. 88; Notes: pp. 71. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1957. Paper.
16. J. RUELENS: Caesar, *De Bello Gallico—Extraits.* Text: pp. xxxi+125, plans; Notes: pp. 60. Namur: Wesmael-Charlier, 1956. Paper, 79 B. fr.

All these foreign school editions differ from the English ones noticed above in lacking stiff covers and plates, and in providing text and notes bound separately. (In (13) and (14) the notes volume is included within the covers of

the text.) (15) has a short introduction and text in one volume, and brief notes in a separate volume. (16), following the same plan, collects some 100 chapters from the Gallic War. The introduction is mainly devoted to a clear account of the Roman army and methods of fighting. A running commentary (rather redundant) occupies the lower half of each page of text. While it is an advantage to be able to have text and notes open before one, on the whole I think the English format, with stiff covers, and all the matter bound up within them, is more practical for school use, especially if the books are to be used on a loan scheme by successive pupils.

17. W. M. SNOOK: *A Modern Latin Course*, Book ii. Pp. viii+256. London: University Tutorial Press, 1955. Cloth, 6s. 6d.
18. A. R. DAVIS: *Simplex, A Notebook of Latin Syntax*. Pp. 28. London: Christophers, 1955. Paper covers, 4s.
19. S. MORRIS: *Experientia, A Modern Practice Book for 'O' Level Latin*. Pp. 96. London: Harrap, 1957. Cloth, 5s.

In (17) two defects noticed in the first book of this course have been remedied: viz. general vocabularies have now been supplied and the terms 'declension' and 'conjugation' are used instead of 'type'. It takes the student to 'O' Level, and has a very good supply of passages from Roman authors for translation. (18) is a revision instrument for 'O' Level, setting forth in succinct diagrams the main constructions; all subjunctive constructions are printed in red. It might well prove a life-belt. (19) gives test papers containing grammar questions, sentences, and proses or unseens. The proses either deal with Roman Britain or tell a simple tale; the unseens include examples of medieval and modern Latin (e.g. on the ascent of Everest), and are an attractive feature of a useful little book.

20. B. G. WHITFIELD: *A Classical Handbook for Sixth Forms*. Pp. viii+77. Oxford: Blackwell, 1956. Cloth, 12s. 6d.
21. W. J. BULLICK and J. A. HARRISON: *Concise Greek Course*. Pp. xii+161. London: Bell, 1957. Cloth, 10s.
22. L. A. WILDING: *Greek for Beginners*. Pp. 169; 6 plates, map. London: Faber, 1957. Cloth, 9s. 6d.
23. S. DAVIS: *Greek Grammar and Exercises*. Pp. x+155. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1955. Cloth.
24. E. JANSSENS: *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*. Pp. 169. Namur: Wesmael-Charlier, 1955. Paper, 69 B. fr.
25. H. FÄRBER (Ed.): *Griechisches Unterrichtswerk*. (i) Grammatik: ii Teil. H. LINDEMANN: Satzlehre. H. FÄRBER: Dialektgrammatik und Metrik. Pp. 172. (ii) H. STROHM: Übungsbuch, iv Teil: Syntax (Heft 2). Pp. 92, plates. Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1957, 1956. Boards, DM. 6.80, 4.80.

(20) will be acquired, treasured, and referred to by every sixth-form master. This miscellaneous harvest of thirty years of classics teaching at Eton ranges

from syntax 'gobbets' to the Roman compass, dates, and the Greek metaphors based on bilge-water.

Two Greek courses in one year is a healthy sign. (21) is an elementary one-year course, with 52 exercises, designed to lead the beginner up to North and Hillard or similar course. All essential grammar is given at the beginning; a continuous story from the *Anabasis* is included, and a good introduction explains why it is worth studying the Greeks. (22) assumes parallel use of a grammar. It carries on beyond (21) to Final, Consecutive, and Oratio Obliqua. The plates include a fine view of Mt. Olympus. Passages for translation are adapted from the three historians. Both books are worthy of inspection. (22) excludes duals; (21), rather oddly, puts them in. (23) aims at giving a thorough grounding, covering all the main constructions, in two university or four school terms. It is a scholarly work, inclusive rather than the reverse (e.g. accents are commented on throughout), and seems more suited to university students. (24), like (16) from the same stable, has a running commentary below the text—of more value in the *Agamemnon*. Brief explanatory notes are placed at the end. There is no vocabulary. Finally, there are two more volumes in the sumptuous new Greek course from Germany, the previous volumes in which have been already noticed. The plates in (25) (ii) are of Greek sculpture and architecture.

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B. H. KEMBALL-COOK

SHORT REVIEWS

ÉMILE JANSSENS: *Œdipe-Roi*. Texte de Sophocle commenté, explications grammaticales, vocabulaire. Pp. 69. Namur: Westmael-Charlier, 1956. Paper, 23 B. fr.

THIS is a supplement to the edition of the *O.T.* with running commentary relating mainly to subject matter published by Janssens in 1953 (*C.R.* v [1953], 102). It contains elementary information in an economical form well adapted to the needs of beginners or rusty veterans. The two volumes together are uniform with the same author's *Agamemnon* already noticed (*C.R.* vii [1957], 159).

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D. W. LUCAS

K. I. KALLIPHATIDES: (1) *Ἑρμηνευτικὴ Παρατήρησις στὸν διάλογο τῶν Μηλίων*, xxiv, ii, xii, vi. Pp. 21, 14, 12, 22. (2) *Μετὰ τὴν Ἀποστολία τῆς Ποιδαίας*. Pp. 32; map. Thessalonica: 1954-6. Paper.

THE above are (1) notes on four passages in the Melian dialogue, Thuc. v. 111, 5, 85, 97, and 89, so numbered and listed here in the

order of their publication, and presumably to be completed by at least twenty other parts; and (2) a longer note on Thuc. i. 61. They are all too long, containing much discussion which is repetition of many earlier notes (e.g. Poppo's on 111. 5), and show a curious mixture of good sense and improbable conjecture. 111. 5 is notoriously difficult and (I would agree) neither the manuscript tradition with its few variations, nor the text as usually printed by editors, can stand; and the readings are not helped by the free rendering given by the scholiast; but though Mr. Kalliphatides sees the special difficulties, few will agree that *οὐτὶ περὶ παρρησίας βουλευέσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐς μὲν βουλὴν τοιοῦτόν τε καὶ μὴ* is what Thucydides wrote, or that Kalliphatides has explained how the intrusive words intruded. In 85 no one will accept his suggestion to bracket *οἱ καθήμενοι, ποιήσαντες*, and *εἴωρε* (found in Dionysius' quotation, but 'inserted in Thucydides' text from Dionysius'); but it is a good idea that *ἐν λόγῳ* (which he accepts with almost all others for the manuscripts' *ἐν ἀλόγῳ*) is not the equivalent of *ἐννεχὲς ῥήσι* in the previous sentence—Valla's *perpetua oratione*—but 'all at once': 'do not you do as the masses do, accept or reject many proposals put forward in a long speech, all at once without

detailed thought'; and καὶ ἑκατόν he takes as masculine. He compares Soph. *El.* 1088; *O.C.* 1655; Eur. *H.F.* 1391, *Hel.* 765.

Kalliphatides' treatment of 97 is similar (words bracketed *because* there is an explanation of them in the scholia) and without justification. On 89 (apart from a perverse misunderstanding of $\xi \dots \xi$ in the two clauses, with which he compares, more perversely, *Septem* 202), he has more of interest to say. He does not believe that τὰ δὲ νῦν, κ.τ.λ., is a naked assertion of the doctrine of power, but that the Athenians are putting forward a moderate proposal—'let us not make fine speeches, but try to reach agreement on what is possible'. This he thinks is what the words mean, quite apart from the question whether the Athenians are sincere or not in the use of them; but he inclines to the view that they are. One cannot but remind him of a similar debate nearer home: the stronger power always thinks its proposals reasonable and that all that the weaker has to do is to agree to them.

On i. 61 he accepts Pelekides' view that Aristeus and his Corinthians went to Potidaea by sea; and this may be right. (In my *Commentary* I did not give enough weight to the objections to the other view.) But it does not help his argument to say that *ἡθορο* must mean that the Athenians saw them with their own eyes as they sailed across the Saronic Gulf; therefore they were in merchant ships, with no triremes, and the Athenians did not interfere as this would have been an act of war; therefore Thucydides did not think it worth mentioning. He accepts the correction ἐν Ἐρεβῶν, and gets out of the other difficulty by bracketing ἐς Βέροαν καὶ κείνην as the usual adscript; but, in rejecting Pelekides' view that there was a second Beroea (some 9–10 miles north-west of Potidaea at a spot now called Βεργά) he has an interesting note on a late-Byzantine belief that Beroea was an alternative name for Potidaea (not, apparently, *vice versa*, though Macedonian Beroea has retained its name unchanged to this day).

A good deal of thought and space wasted in making a few interesting suggestions.

A. W. GOMBE

JEAN ZAFIROPULO: *Diogène d'Apollonie*. (Collection d'Études Anciennes.) Pp. 207; 1 folding diagram. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956. Paper.

In this work Zafiropulo carries his researches farther along the lines laid down in his

earlier books, *Anaxagore de Clazomène* (1948), *L'École éléate* (1950), and *Empédocle d'Agri-gente* (1953). He now sees the whole course of Greek philosophy from a highly personal point of view which becomes on the whole less plausible, the greater the detail in which it is expounded. The main stream of thinkers used a double representation of reality, namely material and spiritual. The Great Age of the fifth century in literature and art was sustained by a particular school of thought which was born and died in that century and comprised thinkers as diverse as Heraclitus, Empedocles, the Eleatics, Anaxagoras, and Philolaus. Towards the end of the century two figures above all others were responsible for the death of this 'classical school' of thought. Protagoras, by refusing to think on the plane of the spiritual, initiated an approach which was limited to the world of the senses and led eventually to the study of efficient causes and the pure science of Euclid, Aristarchus, and others. The second person, surprisingly enough, was Diogenes of Apollonia. His influence, we are told, was swift, profound, and permanent. Though himself a second-rate figure, he marks a turning-point in the history of Greek thought as decisive as that occasioned by Pythagoras, a turning-point indeed of which the disastrous effects were to be felt for centuries after the end of the ancient world.

Such an estimate of Diogenes even Zafiropulo is forced to call 'bizarre', though he qualifies this by adding 'at first sight'. He offers two main grounds for his conclusions. Firstly he maintains that Diogenes gave a classical form, like that of a digest, to the work of the 'classical school', which was linked in turn to the philosophy of the Ionians. It was largely, we are told, through the vehicle of his summary that the work of philosophers before him was transmitted to later generations and was incorporated in the Corpus Aristotelicum and the Corpus Hippocraticum. Put in this way, the thesis will probably seem neither likely nor supported by any evidence. The major piece of evidence offered is in fact the Socrates of the *Clouds*. 'Ce monstre intellectuel et contradictoire', as Zafiropulo calls him, is regarded as a hybrid personality compounded by Aristophanes from the physical traits of Socrates, the moral doctrines typical of the sophists, and the physical doctrines of Diogenes of Apollonia. Why choose Diogenes? Because his doctrines represented those currently accepted at Athens at the time and were the most representative views of the age. Here it should be said that other views

of the Socrates in the *Clouds* are possible and should probably be preferred, but the view of Zafiropulo has been held by others and may be right. Whatever be the truth here, the inference is wholly unjustified—it is more likely that Aristophanes chose the views of Diogenes for parody, if he did so, because they seemed to him actually or potentially ridiculous, than because they fairly summed up the philosophy of the time. There is no more reason to suppose that Aristophanes 'played fair' with the ideas of his age than that he did so with Socrates. Finally, it may be said that evidence of any influence by Diogenes on the subsequent doxographic tradition is completely lacking.

Secondly, we are told it was Diogenes who substituted the teleological view of the universe for the idea of a universe ruled by some sort of law of harmony, which was the view of his predecessors. The end of the universe for Diogenes was man. This view rests partly on fr. 3, which seems to say that 'everything is disposed in the most beautiful possible manner'—ὡς ἐνερπὲν κἀλίστα—and partly on the view developed by Theiler and accepted by Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, pp. 167 ff., according to which certain discussions in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, where human functions are described as the gifts of the gods to men, may derive from the works of Diogenes. This may be true. But fr. 3 seems to envisage simply a static well-ordered universe, and it is doubtful whether Xenophon's picture of the world is any different. A static well-ordered universe is not the same as a teleological universe, and the idea of a well-ordered universe cannot be claimed as an invention of Diogenes—it is something far older.

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HJALMAR FRISK: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Lieferung 4. Pp. 289–384. Heidelberg: Winter, 1956. Paper, DM. 8.60.

FRISK's latest fascicule reaches, without completing, the article on δῆκος. Little or nothing need be added to the general description of the book and its merits which appeared in the review of fascicules 1–3 (C.R. vi. 236 ff.). The following comments on particular points amount to a continuation of that review.

Etymological dictionaries differ considerably in the extent to which they reveal the

character and general opinions of their authors. Frisk maintains with few exceptions that reserve which best suits a work of reference; amidst so much impersonality the reader may be refreshed, and perhaps aroused to agreement or dissent, on finding (p. 309) a sharply worded rebuke to such speculations as those on the possible relationship of the families of γένωμαι, γινώσκω, γόνυ, 'die mit ganz unbekannten vorgeschichtlichen Größen operieren'. As in the earlier parts, some fairly dogmatic statements are made which seem to imply particular views on controversial aspects of Indo-European phonetics; for example, a denial (p. 331) of the possibility of connecting L. aus with γυαί, the Graecized form of Hitt. huḫḫai, &c., or the evident preference (p. 347) for relating δῶος to δίδωμι rather than to δατόμαι (see Schwyzler's doubts about the former connexion, G.G. i. 340). Some omissions, for which the author has perhaps his reasons, may be detected with little trouble by reference to the lexicon (e.g. δαίμα, δαίμοδα, δαίμων). The method of citing derivations is still somewhat inconsistent: if δῶος and δαλός merit separate citation with references to δαίω, why does not δῶός; also, a word of which the meaning is a less obvious clue than that of the other two? Mycenaean ('ägyptisch') forms are quoted under γυνή, δέρας, but not under γλαυκός, δατόμαι, δήμος, δέω 'bind'.

If γλαυκός is from *δλκός, the change *dl- > gl-* can be understood without invoking assimilatory influence of the following κ; it is of the same type as *dn > gn* in γνόφος, παγγνίω, Ἀφγναιός. γυλίων by γύαλον is explained as 'mit anderem Suffixvokal'; may it not belong with δαλος/βελος, &c. (on this alternance cf. Schwyzler, G.G. i. 243)? The comments (s.v. δῆγρ) on δαίρα, δαίρ, δέρας are as they stand somewhat misleading and indeed not fully intelligible without consultation of Schwyzler, G.G. i. 266: it is not δῆρῶν which is 'metrisch unbequem', but δῆρῶν, and in any case the hypothetical disyllabic forms (*δαίρῃ, *δαίρῶν) are unnecessary to explain either the Hellenistic forms or Homeric prosody (Chantraine, *Gram. Hom.* i. 38, to which Frisk does not refer, assumes synizesis or, in *Il.* xxiv. 762, shortening of the first syllable).

Each successive fascicule of Frisk's *Wörterbuch* increases the frequency with which it must be consulted, and in corresponding degree the eagerness with which we await its completion.

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FRANK O. COPLEY: *Plautus, The Rope (Rudens)*. Pp. vii+76. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1956. Paper, 45 c.

A previous translation by Professor Copley, of the *Mostellaria*, was noticed in *C.R.*, N.S. vii (1957), 80. The translation of the *Rudens* is noticeably free from that brand of American slang which is unintelligible to an English reader. The language of this translation, while unmistakably American in tone, expression, and syntax, gives a lively and vigorous rendering of the Latin. Some nice translations are offered: for instance, *nam lenones ex Gaudio credo esse procreatos, ita omnes mortales, si quid est mali lenoni, gaudent* (1284 f.) is turned—'You know, I think us pimps must be real sons of joy, the way everybody gets so much joy out of it every time a pimp runs into trouble'; and there is an attempt to catch the tone of 332 f. *quida ad aures | vos mi advolavit?* with 'Who's that? Somebody's 'winged words' just came to my ears!' On the other hand 'Official good-girl-grabber' misses much in *feles virginalis* (748). In 130 *aut hodie aut heri* is misleadingly translated: 'It would have been this morning or maybe last night.' Marx's comment here (*Sonnenschein* is silent) is quite wrong: '*heri* ist zu *hodie* zugesetzt, weil möglicherweise der Kuppler die Vorbereitungen für das Opfer tags zuvor treffen konnte'. The phrase also occurs at *Most.* 953 and *Stich.* 152 and is an idiom meaning 'very recently': Catullus (61. 137) varies this with *hodie atque heri*.

The main weakness of the translation is its failure to catch the swiftly changing tone of the Plautine dialogue, from low-life vulgarity to the high reaches of tragic poetry. So the suicide-monologue (220 ff.) and the high-tragic parody of the girls' meeting (228 ff.) is made to sound silly. At 906 ff. the mock-prayer, the hymn of the triumphant general ascending the Capitol, begins well: 'To Lord Neptune, who liveth and reigneth . . . hath sent me home richly laden from his domains.' Yep! Safe home again, with so much stuff I can hardly carry it! Little old boat got through safe too.' But the parody of the triumph-song goes on at least to *salute horiae*. This stylistic failure is seen at its clearest in l. 5, where Plautus makes the priestess talk in solemn ritual tones; but Copley makes her talk like an American version of Mr. Pickwick's landlady (even the bombastic *ego huius fani sacerdos cluso* is translated 'I'm the regular priestess here').

There are some oddities in the translation. Whether 704 is improper or not, the translation 'Men say that thou wast born of a sea

shell; please don't scorn them just because they look a bit barnacled' (which depends on *Sonnenschein*) is extraordinary: if not a joke, *conchas* must refer to an offering (see Marx, ad loc.). In 1073 ff. euphemism removes all point (*comprimere* is rendered 'shut up'): yet 'n 726 *si istas amas* is unnecessarily rendered 'if you want to go to bed with them'.

The chief virtue of this translation, as Copley's *Mostellaria*, is its vigour and liveliness. There is living dramatic movement here, but it is not readily recognizable as Plautine.

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VIKTOR PÖSCHL: *Horaz und die Politik*. (Sitz. der Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1956. 4.) Pp. 29. Heidelberg: Winter, 1956. Paper, DM. 5.80.

THIS lecture deals with a single very important question regarding Horace and politics—how can the insistent individualist and quietist be reconciled with the supporter of Augustus and his programme? Pöschl regards as inadequate the explanation that he passed through a series of phases, while admitting, of course, the major change after Philippi and the one avowed at *Odes* i. 14. 17 f. (*nuper sollicitum* . . .); or that his political poems can be called insincere, degrees of sincerity being impossible to establish in so complicated a psychological situation. The considerations he stresses are: that Horace's poems are not poems of experience in the modern sense; that there was a strong literary tradition of panegyric from Hellenistic times; that in the political poems Horace speaks not as himself, but as representative of popular feeling; that there was a deep and widespread feeling of guilt, from which Augustus was seen as the only redeemer—hence his worship; that at Rome the political sphere was so 'autonomous' that one obeyed its laws regardless of personal conviction; that similar dichotomies were recognized in the religious sphere, as we see from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, and in personal relationships, as we see from his correspondence. Life is lived on many planes at once, and there are advantages in a certain elasticity. Pöschl's main point is that tension (*Spannung*) plays an important part in Horace's psychology, affecting his relations with Augustus and with Maecenas, both of which might compromise his peace and freedom (the offered secretaryship, *Ep.*

i. 7, *Odes* iii. 29). He proceeds to trace this tension between the political and the personal throughout Horace's career, through *Epode* 16 (the Isles of the Blest are a symbolic land of wisdom and poetry), *Epode* 13, *Odes* i. 26, ii. 11, i. 7, ii. 18, and, where one would least expect it, in iii. 1 and others of the Roman *Odes*. This balance corresponds to others traditional in Roman life, Family-State, Private-Public, *Otium-Reipublica*. Augustan poetry made conscious and developed strong forces latent in *Römertum*, giving new lustre and meaning to the personal world.

That Horace's life cannot be crudely divided into phases one may readily agree; for instance, i. 34 (*Parcus decorum*) does not record a conversion from Epicureanism to Stoicism. Yet surely the years 23-17, following the publication and disappointing reception of *Odes* i-iii and Maecenas' fall from grace, are a distinguishable phase, and again the years of *Odes* iv, following the *Ludi Saeculares* and popular recognition. The question of sincerity is harder. One can admit that a capacity for 'double-think' was even more ingrained in the Romans than it is in ourselves (rhetorical education might have been mentioned as partly to blame). The habit of thinking in watertight compartments is itself a sort of insincerity, however excusable because it was deep-rooted in tradition. But there are degrees, however hard to assess; and those who sense in Horace a certain insincerity, not necessarily conscious, would detect far less in Virgil, at least as much in Propertius, and more in Ovid. Horace's case attracts the limelight just because he was so articulate about what he thought and felt, and published together, particularly in *Odes* i-iii, so much that is self-contradictory. Pöschl's arguments do not alter the facts; but they are a thorough, valuable, and sympathetic exposition of what can be said in explanation or excuse.

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Ovid, *Metamorphoses*: translated by ROLFE HUMPHRIES. Pp. xiv+401. Bloomington: Indiana University Press (London: Mark Paterson), 1955. Paper, 12s. 6d. net.

FOLLOWING hard upon the version in heroic couplets by A. E. Watts and that in prose in the Penguin Classics by Mary M. Innes comes this translation of the *Metamorphoses* by an American poet, whose translation of the

Aeneid appeared in 1951. He has followed the text of F. J. Miller in the Loeb Classical Library, departing from it once or twice to advantage. To represent the Ovidian hexameter he has chosen a loose, five-beat line, unrhymed and usually with a feminine ending. The result is extremely readable, though the purist might object that readability has been purchased at the cost of too great a freedom. From the point of view of literal accuracy Mr. Humphries is much less conscientious than, say, C. Day Lewis in his rendering of the *Aeneid*; and even Mr. Watts, shackled as he is by his heroic couplets, often contrives to get in more of the details of the Latin. The liberties taken are largely those of omission, the omission not only of patronymics and stock epithets but also of short phrases and varied repetitions; for example i. 98 *non aëris cornua flexi*, i. 302-3 *altis | incurvant ramis*, ii. 219 *nondum Oeagrus*, v. 605-6 'as fierce As falcon after doves', xiii. 174 *Apollinis urbes*, xiv. 458 *sub Iapyge* . . . *Dauco*. Occasionally Humphries adds something of his own—vii. 233 'but that, as someone, A long time later, said, is another story'; viii. 884 'and a hand raised, feebly, toward his forehead'; ix. 36 'We could grip each other better so'. Again, the purist might object that in his pursuit of the speaking voice Humphries has been too uncritical and introduced too many colloquialisms verging on slang, of which the following will serve as specimens: 'your phony father' (p. 26), 'he did some thinking' (p. 41), 'I will fix you' (p. 43), 'all this what-do-you-call-it kind of service' (p. 82), 'This struck Perseus As pretty futile' (p. 103). Moreover there are several slips in translation, of which the worst occurs at vii. 365-6 *Ialysus Telchinas | quorum oculus* . . ., 'The isles of Ialysus, whose eyes . . .'; some of the others are due to the false guidance of the Loeb translator.

But when all has been said, the merits of the translation far outweigh its defects. It is very much alive, fresh, racy, and, above all, vivid. Of the three most recent translators of the *Metamorphoses* Miss Innes is the most faithful to the Latin, Watts gives the best representation in English of Ovid's technical mastery, his love of balanced antithesis and epigram, but Humphries reproduces most successfully the speed and animation of Ovid's narrative, its modernity, its gaiety, and its tenderness. His translation is the nearest modern counterpart of Golding's. It would be unfair not to quote a passage or two:

' . . . the girl, trembling a little
And looking back to the land, her right
hand clinging

Tight to one horn, and the other resting
easy
Along the shoulder, and her flowing gar-
ments
Filling and fluttering in the breath of the
sea-wind.'

Met. ii. 873 ff.

'Love and Hymen shook
The marriage-torches, fires fed fat on in-
cense,
Glowing and fragrant, and the garlands
hung
Down from the timbers, and the lyre and
flute
And song made music, proof of happy
spirits.
Great doors swung open, and the golden
halls
Were set for splendid banqueting, and
courtiers
Came thronging to the tables.'

Met. iv. 758 ff.

'... as crimson in its color
As pomegranates are, as briefly clinging
To life as did Adonis, for the winds
Which gave a name to the flower, ane-
mone,
The wind-flower, shake the petals off, too
early,
Doomed all too swift and soon'.

Met. x. 735 ff.

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GUSTAVO MAGARIÑOS: *Juvenal y su Tercera Sátira*. Estudio analítico. (Manuales y Anejos de 'Emerita', xv.) Pp. 121. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956. Paper.

THIS curious little work, whose scrappiness bears witness to its origin in a thesis, consists of three chapters. Chapter i, 'Juvenal y la crítica histórica', gives a summary account of some of Juvenal's critics, followed by Magariños's own views: he emphasizes the novelty of Juvenal's approach to his subject and his humanitarianism ('su ternura, su humanitarismo, sus condolencias por los pesares ajenos, demuestran su nobleza espiritual y una honda sensibilidad frente a las situaciones dolorosas del prójimo', p. 28). Chapter ii, 'Comentario filológico', is rather a series of agreeable but discursive essays on topics arising in the Satire, illustrated chiefly from Martial, Pliny, and Tacitus. Chapter iii, 'Análisis literario', deals with

a number of matters, including Juvenal's use of antithesis, mythology, parody, and *sententiae*, and his influence on later writers (a difficult topic to try to cover in four and a half pages). Here too Magariños writes of his author not without hyperbole: 3. 278-301 form 'un magnífico cuadro dramático, pleno de realismo y autenticidad, de gracia y sutil ironía, de humanitarismo, de vida y de gran valor presentativo' (p. 93). However, these may be matters of opinion; what is more certain is that it is wrong to ignore, as Magariños does, the genre: Juvenal was writing *satura* (even if it was a new kind), and his sparing use of mythology does not necessarily indicate 'la reacción del poeta contra las modas literarias de su tiempo' (p. 95); parody too (pp. 100 f.) was notoriously a feature of satire. To conclude, there is a translation of the Satire, which I shall not presume to criticize, accompanied by some notes. One is tempted to murmur *scire tuum nihil est* ...? of books like this, but there are interesting criticisms here and there which seem to show that Magariños could write a useful commentary on Juvenal if he would learn to curb and prune.

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E. J. KENNEY

ERIK WISTRAND: *Die Chronologie der Punica des Silius Italicus*. Beiträge zur Interpretation der flavischen Literatur. (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, iv.) Pp. 65. Gothenburg: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956. Paper, Kr. 8.

THIS short and sensible monograph deals with the following passages or topics: (1) the encomium of Domitian (iii. 594 ff.), (2) the identity of the Emperor *qui nunc dedit otia mundo* at the close of the fourteenth book; (3) the punishment of the Vestals (xiii. 844 ff.), (4) the punishment of the tyrants in the Underworld (xiii. 601 ff.), (5) the reference in xiii. 858 ff. to Sulla's resignation of the dictatorship, (6) the role of Pallas in the *Punica*.

Wistrand realizes that only the first two of these passages give clues to the date of the poem's composition. The first refers to A.D. 84 (or at the earliest to 83), the second to A.D. 93 at the earliest, but more probably to the last years of Domitian's life. He points out that these dates are confirmed by Martial's statements that Silius was engaged on the work in 88 and that publication of the epic was to be expected in 93. This means that Silius worked rapidly. Unlike Basius as re-

ported in the *Dialogus* or Statius in the *Thebaid*, Silius wrote considerably more than 'ein Buch jährlich'. But then, as Wistrand points out, it would be absurd to set a rigid tempo for Roman poetical composition. Horace was a slow worker, Ovid a rapid one.

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FRANZ WIESTHALER: *Die Oratio Obliqua als künstlerisches Stilmittel in den Reden Ciceros*. Pp. 115. Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1956. Paper, S. 120.

DR. WIESTHALER's dissertation is modelled on A. Lambert, *Die indirekte Rede als künstlerisches Stilmittel des Livius* (cf. C.R. lxxii [1948], 141 f.); this work is unknown to the present reviewer. The title is puzzling: indirect speech is not in itself a stylistic ornament; it is used for the prosaic reason that the author wishes to quote somebody else's remarks. Of course a rhetorical writer will be rhetorical even in the accusative and infinitive, and Wiesthaler mentions various devices by which the monotony of the construction may be lessened. It is also true that a speech in *oratio obliqua*, at least in the historians, may sometimes be more highly coloured than the surrounding narrative, but even so the title is a misleading one.

In fact most of the book contains collections of material on various aspects of indirect speech (or direct speech). One may mention discussions of *prosopopoeia*, changes from indirect to direct speech, direct and indirect speech when the subject is a number of persons, objections made by opponents recorded in direct and indirect speech. The last chapter contains lists of verbs introducing indirect speech, an account of the ways in which indirect speech is wound up, and syntactical information on indicatives in subordinate clauses and on the sequence of tenses. The book is too long, and contains much that the reader will know already (for instance the three *genera dicendi*), or not wish to know (for instance that *oratio obliqua* is commonest in the *argumentatio*).

It is a pity that Wiesthaler does not say more about *oratio recta* in Cicero; he could have made a complete analysis of the contexts where it is used, and a comparison with the Greek orators might also have yielded something. For it is *oratio recta* that is stylistically interesting; here the historian or orator has made a genuine choice for artistic reasons. Wiesthaler of course re-

cognizes the greater vivacity of *oratio recta*, but he perhaps does not see that its use is very restricted; in most contexts in serious prose a direct quotation would be impossible. At most of the places where Cicero uses *oratio obliqua* one can only ask, 'How else could he have said it?' Dr. Wiesthaler has taken a lot of trouble, and given an exhaustive account of some aspects of *oratio obliqua* in Cicero. Perhaps in his future researches he will find a more rewarding subject.

R. G. M. NISBET

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ÅKE J. FRIDH: *Terminologie et formules dans les Variæ de Cassiodore. Études sur le développement du style administratif aux derniers siècles de l'antiquité*. [Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, ii.] Pp. xii+200. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956. Paper, Kr. 20.

The official letter of this age, whose models are to be found not in ecclesiastical but in imperial sources, possesses literary form in such degree that the status of the *Variæ* as a literary work cannot be in doubt. This view advanced, Fridh, in the remainder of Chapter i, demonstrates the relationship of the structure of the official letter to the scheme of an oration (including some remarks on conclusive particles and the digression), and outlines the source-material for the official style of the Empire: relatively little of this material survives (two of the five categories of letter contained in the *Variæ* are unrepresented) and mutilation has often resulted from codification (the preamble especially suffers), so that comparison and the assessment of Cassiodorus' contribution in vocabulary and variety are difficult.

In Chapter ii Fridh attempts to classify, according to the rhetoricians' rules for the *exordium*, the main types of preamble in the *Variæ*, an unrewarding task since 'les catégories . . . ne sont pas strictement isolées les unes des autres' (p. 35, n. 1).¹ The larger part of the chapter (pp. 39-59) surveys the history of the preamble, first dismissing the views of Haberleitner, Sickel, and Granzin. Fridh's claim (that the ultimate provenance of the mature form of the preamble suggests that its origin is to be found in imperial edicts and rescripts) follows rather curiously on his demonstration of the presence of

¹ Cf. also p. 37, n. 1; p. 33; p. 38.

features characteristic of the preamble in three *senatusconsulta* of the first century A.D. Material is especially rare in the fourth century, assumed to be the most important period in its development. Fridh pursues an interesting if tenuous thread from an edict of Nerva preserved in Pliny, *Ep.* x. 58. 7 to the fully developed preambles of the fifth century, capable of furnishing models for those of Cassiodorus.

In comparing the official terminology of Cassiodorus with that of the Empire, Fridh, in Chapter iii, concentrates on true formulae: of the *dispositio* (pp. 63-111), of the *narratio* (pp. 111-25), and of the final clauses (pp. 125-69); in treating titles of honour (pp. 169-95) he is free to range beyond the confines of a single subdivision. Cassiodorus' dependence on the style of the imperial chancelleries is revealed in the *dispositio* and the penal clauses, in his use of titles, and (less clearly) in the *narratio*: his indebtedness to the chancelleries of the West is shown by some of the examples given in section 1, 'Les dénominations des actes des souverains'; by his use (again in the *dispositio*) of some Western verbal expressions not current in contemporary Eastern texts; by some parallel usages in the *narratio*; and by close conformity in the penal clauses. The material assembled here admirably illuminates the antecedency and connexions of the language of the chancellery under Theodoric and his successors.

That this chancellery, however, avoided certain legislative terms exclusively reserved for the imperial power because of 'la subordination sous l'empire', as Fridh claims (p. 62), cannot be upheld by the evidence of the *Variae* if Mommsen's view (shared by Professor Momigliano²) is correct, that the *Variae* form a selection so compiled as to exclude anything objectionable to the Eastern emperor. Clearly selection with this intention may have suppressed evidence of practice contrary to that which Fridh describes; this possibility should have been discussed even though the work is primarily a treatment of the development of the administrative style, for Fridh ventures his claim on evidence which this study affords:

¹ 'Ce n'est que dans une minorité des cas qu'on peut parler d'une terminologie fixe des différentes parties' of the letter (p. 62).

² In 'Cassiodorus and Italian Culture of his Time', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xli (1955), 207 ff., and 'Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del VI sec. d. C.', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, serie ottava, xi, fasc. 11-12 (1956), 279 ff.

some reference, too, to the other evidence available would have been welcome.

Mommsen's view is not certainly correct. Expressions occur in the *Variae* which, on this view, might be thought to invite suppression, and, though their weight and significance may sometimes be questioned, they suggest that the case for suppression should be less positively stated;³ again, more likely considerations in selection are literary merit and the desire to furnish a wide range of *exempla*. Even if Mommsen's view is wrong, however, it would have been valuable to consider whether the avoidance Fridh remarks has not resulted from disuse of the terms in question in the years before Theodoric assumed power in Italy.

To be regretted are the general inadequacy of cross-referencing, the provision of page and line references only, and the slightness of the indexes.

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HILDEBRECHT HOMMEL: *Schöpfer und Erhalter. Studien zum Problem Christentum und Antike*. Pp. 160; 2 plates. Berlin: Lettner-Verlag, 1956. Cloth, DM. 6.80.

THIS learned but rather indigestible book is a reprint of articles published in *Theologia Viatorum*, iv (1952) and v (1953-4), with a few pages of additional notes. There are four studies, largely held together by a common concern with the theology of creation in late antiquity. The first and second, both short, examine respectively some points in Romans i and viii, particularly the *ἀνοικισμός* of the creation, and the Platonic allusions to the righteous man who is crucified. The third, more substantial, is a profitable discussion of the *Sator* word-square. Hommel reads it boustrophedon and takes *sator opera tenet* to have been originally the only effective words, so that the otherwise puzzling *crepo* and *rotas* can be disregarded as by-products. He regards its pre-Christian origin as certain (though of course Christians found further significance in it, bringing creation and redemption through the Cross together) and explores *sator-seminator-ovelpes* language in Stoicism, concluding that the square was a Stoic production. The final essay follows this up with detailed studies of *παροικισμός*

³ L. W. Jones, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, 1946, in writing of the publication of the *Variae* at p. 8, uses the expression 'apparently without substantial change'.

and *scarcely* in late Greek and early Christian thought, with interesting observations on Latin renderings. Posidonius bulks large. If Hommel's search takes him far afield and some of his suggestions (e.g. about A and O) are less than convincing, he is reasonably cautious in his conclusions, and the linguistic and other parallels which he assembles are useful. The bibliographical information is full and valuable. The proportion of footnotes to text is high, and it is sometimes difficult to see the wood for the trees.

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JACOPO ZENNARI: *I Vercelli dei Celti nella Valle Padana e l'invasione Cimbria della Venezia*. (Annali della Biblioteca Governativa e Libreria Civica di Cremona, vol. iv, fasc. 3.) Pp. 78; 2 plates, 2 maps. Cremona: Athenaeum Cremonense, 1956. Paper.

THIS is a new attempt to answer the vexed question: where were the Cimbri defeated in 101 B.C.? The principal thesis, plausibly argued, is that the *Berœllae* of Plutarch, *Marius*, 25 should not be taken as a reference to the town now called Vercelli, on the Sesia. Using inscriptions, literary texts, and medieval documents, Zennari tries to establish (perhaps not always with sufficient consideration of other possible explanations of the evidence) that there were several places in the Po basin known as *vercellae*. The word, he thinks, was of early Celtic origin, and indicated areas of mineral working between streams where there were alluvial deposits of gold or other minerals. (He relates the word to similar forms in Latin and other languages, but his accounts of these relationships, and of the actual significance of the word, seem rather sketchy and unsatisfactory.) He suggests that these *vercellae* were later managed by *publicani*, and later still by *dispensatores* like the 'Dns. REGION. PADAN. VERCELLIENIUM RAVENNATUM' of *C.I.L.* v. 1. 2385; that the *lex censoria* of Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii. 4 regulated all such areas in Italy; and that the places where the workers lived were known as *vici-tumuli*. On the supposition that there were several centres of this designation in the Po basin, he gives a new interpretation to passages of Livy and Strabo. He places one such centre east of the Ticino, where he thinks Hannibal's skirmish with Scipio took place. He gives an extended discussion of the

sources for this, which allows him to rehabilitate Livy. His own reconstruction, however, will not be found wholly convincing as it stands.

Zennari then discusses the route taken by the Cimbri, rejecting all the reasons so far advanced for their alleged march to the west. He gives a description of the Po delta in classical times, suggesting where *vercellae* might have been, and follows Fano ('Alla ricerca del Campo Raudio', *Atti della Dep. Ferraresi di S. P.*, xxvi, 1926) in locating the Campi Raudi at Rovigo. He considers that the word *raudus* is also Celtic, and might refer to the reddish colour caused by iron deposits. The Cimbri, then, marched in 102 down the Adige and towards the Po. Catulus held the line of the Po Volana until the following year, when he and Marius crossed the river and destroyed them.

Zennari suggests that a confusion over different places called Pollentia could have led to the idea that the battle was fought in the west, near the *vercellae* which gave their name to Vercelli (cf. Silius Italicus, viii. 588 ff., and Claudian, *Bell. Get.* 640 ff.; the only ancient texts which unequivocally take the Cimbri to the west).

Zennari has seized on all the material, good and bad, to bolster his argument, and his use of sources and authorities needs constant checking. Some evidence he certainly refers to too early a period, and he is not always exact in his terminology. There is no map to illustrate the principal argument, although this is badly needed, and those illustrating the fighting on the Ticino are deplorable. However, the work is full of ideas and a stimulus to further research, which would probably confirm its main conclusion.

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K. 'JEFFESSEN: *Labraunda*. Swedish Excavations and Researches. Vol. i, part 1: The Propylaea. (Skriften utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4^o, v. 1. 1.) Pp. xi+52; 30 figs., 23 plates. Lund: Gleerup, 1956. Paper, Kr. 35.

LABRAUNDA evidently shared in the general prosperity of Caria during the period of Mausolus; and its remains, which the Swedes are now uncovering, show that it was able and willing to employ artists of reasonably high calibre.

This is a good, thorough reconstruction of

two propyla, through which two different roads entered the south-east corner of the main sanctuary. Both were discovered by the Swedish Expedition. They have suffered from the slipping of the hillside; for, like most Greek buildings, they had no clamps between the blocks of their ground-courses. The two propyla were very similar. The south is more easily restored. Of normal plan, it had two almost equal porticoes, each distyle in *antis*, one on each side of the cross-wall. The order was Ionic, with no frieze, but with dentils and an architrave of only two fasciae. The columns had Asiatic bases, and a height of about ten lower diameters (10×0.54 m.). The detailing seems good, but the poor marble has all weathered badly. The antae projected only 2 centimetres from the main wall-face, and so were in the plane of the orthostates. They diminished slightly, so that we can establish their height as of fourteen courses. Their slight projection is old-fashioned, as are their capitals, with their three tiers of moulding, the two upper probably ovolos and only the lowest a cyma reversa. One would have liked better measured drawings of these capitals. The door-openings themselves had broad, old-fashioned shapes, even fatter than double squares. The outer hood of the central door had a strange tongued cornice (not, apparently of Egyptian derivation).

Construction is normal, except that the side walls were composed of stretchers and half-stretchers, all alike of the full width of the wall. Jeppesen does not say how they were arranged. Probably in alternate rows of headers and stretchers; for, according to Jeppesen, the stretchers all had two clamps on each side, the half-stretchers only one. The ground courses of walls and door-piers were neatly aligned.

Jeppesen disagrees with Dinsmoor, who considered the use of 'Doric' feet extremely improbable at Labraunda. From Jeppesen's tables we obtain here a foot of 32.7 centimetres. This is 'Doric', and gives an axial column-spacing of 10 feet, besides other simple main dimensions, which do not contain un-antique 'thirds of a foot'. Jeppesen attempts, not very successfully, to work out the plan in terms of 24-foot squares, the elevation in terms of rectangles, each of $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet. A very interesting note suggests that the tread of the steps was an important unit, perhaps the Vitruvian 'embater'. Finally, the East Propylon has lower steps and doors more simply interrelated. It is perhaps later than its neighbour.

The South Propylon is dated to the mid-fourth century by the dedicatory inscription

of Idrieus, brother of Mausollos, on its architrave.

This is a good, responsible study, and will be of value to many, not least to this reviewer, who is glad to find an architrave with two fasciae, a parallel to the Altar of Priene, in the mid-fourth century. The book has, however, some puzzling, perhaps erroneous details. How were the piers dowelled to the door-sills? which holes are for dowels? None seem related to the inferred edges of block K 11, and there are no large-scale drawings of this detail. The equations on p. 17 for finding the column-height apparently depend on the dogma that entasis was greatest halfway up the shaft. It is not, however, in the best-known examples. See Penrose, plates 14 and 33, and especially p. 42. Despite Jeppesen's summary on pp. 30-31, Athena Polias at Priene surely had no frieze. The door-hood of his South Propylon only remotely resembles the sima of the Mausoleum. The façade of Philo's Arsenal, as given by Jeppesen, has the unsatisfactory general proportions of exactly 14:22, instead of Choiry's 36:55, which seem to me far better. Why, in any case, should Philo have worked in units of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, rather than single feet? Note 26, on p. 49, seems to misconceive Greek corner-columns.

The drawings are good. But Jeppesen should have given more of individual blocks. The photographs are not so clear; and I suspect, particularly when I see Plate xii, No. 1, that some have had their edges trimmed.

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Opuscula Atheniensia, ii. (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4^o, iii.) Pp. 78; 13 figs., 11 plates. Lund: Gleerup, 1956. Paper, kr. 30.

THE pleasantest ingredient of this volume is an article by I. Dahlén on the fulcrum of a kline from Labraunda—a beautiful work, perhaps datable to the fourth century B.C. The nearest parallel seems to be the couch from Priene, *A.M.* 1932, Beilage vi. 1 and Richter, *Furniture*, fig. 191. Dahlén should also have photographed the rear of the fulcrum. It clearly comes from the end of the couch to the spectator's right. This is *sinister* in heraldry. But Dahlén goes out of his way to call it *dexter*. A. André publishes a fifth-century akroterion, a leaping male figure in a chiton, from the Miller collection; P. Åström a fourth-century inscription from Aigion, remarkable for its angular letters

and the early evidence it gives of a βοῦλα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν]. E. Berggren makes up from fragments in Stockholm a terracotta tambourine-player, of the sort used in sixth-century Cypriot tombs; and H. W. Catling, after a whirl of conjectures and combinations, into which he sucks evidence of widely varying credibility, reaches deceptively precise conclusions on the arrival of metal greaves into Bronze-Age Cyprus. L. Schnitzler argues well for the Corinthian origin of the

Kleophrades Painter, H. Sjöwall that Olton's kylix in Berlin shows the first arrival of Antilochos at the Greek camp. N. Valmin sees Bronze Age lettering in some scratches on Messenian stones; and A. Westholm uses the occasion of some 'Temple Boys', crude squatting sculptures, to denounce the depraved and half barbarous art of 'Greek' Cyprus.

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HUGH PLOMER

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

MNEMOSYNE

4TH SERIES, X (1957), Fasc. 3

A. Hoekstra, *Héride et la tradition orale*: examines H.'s formulae, certain of his case-endings, his treatment of the digamma, and other features, compares them with those of Homer, and concludes that the similarities are due not to literary borrowing but to an oral tradition dependent on formulae, such as Milman Parry postulated for Homer. J. C. Kamerbeek, *Notes sur quelques passages du Philèbe*: 12 d 8-e 1, read πῶς γὰρ; ἡδονῇ γὰρ ἡδονῇ μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ (μὴ = num); 13 d 7-8, λόγος εἰς τὰς ἀμύλας = 'si nostrae sententiae in eandem reprehensionem incurrant' (Stallbaum); 14 b 1-2, retain τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, understand λόγος after οὐδ, and construe 'la diversité du Bien de ma thèse aussi bien que de la tienne'; 15 b 1-8, against the view of Klíbanaky (*Phil., Epin.* tr. A. E. Taylor, p. 237), there are only two questions, the latter divided into two parts grammatically coordinate, though logically the first is subordinate to the second [for δλην (τερ), p. 230, read δλον]; 15 d 4-6, keeping the MS. reading, one should consider ταῦτόν as subject, ἐν καὶ πολλὰ as predicate (composed of two distinct elements) which influence the pl. partic. γιγνώμενα. Audrey N. M. Rich, *Reincarnation in Plotinus*: P. believed in the doctrine of reincarnation, including a literal transmigration, just as much as his master Plato did; it satisfied his sense of justice. H. B. Rosén, *Notes on some Early Latin Inscriptions*: (a) S. C. de Bacanalibus: asserts as valid the form magistratus (= a, l. 12), usually corrected to -ād; cf. the rising diphthong -ae = f originating from contraction, and senatus = ūs; similarly eadem (l. 1) = idem (= aedem); (b) Sententia Minuciorum: some

Ligurian ethnic names appear with suffix -at(i)- and -ens(i)-; of these, the first is a local form from weak grade of suffix *-pt- > -at-, the second from full grade *-ent-, extended by analogy to weak cases and helped by the influence of Lat. -ensis; (c) Ducnos inscr.: as the original distribution of primary and secondary endings was lost in Italic, -t does not preclude mitat from being subjunct; tendendo = tendendo with loss of dental nasal before stop; uircs = uircs abl., 'vase' (ūrcus zero grade root + -eo-, *uircus full grade root + -eo-). A. D. Leeman, *Ad Taciti Dialogum*, XXV 4: edd. have sanitatem eloquentiae (prae se) ferunt; but cod. Hersfeldensis had sanctitatem eloquentiae serunt, and we should read sanctitatem . . . serunt. W. J. G. Lubbe, *De codice Clujensi qui nunc dicitur (olim Blajensi) 168*: readings and stemma of a manuscript of a panegyric to the Emperor Constantine.

4TH SERIES, X (1957), Fasc. 4

W. J. Verdenius, *Notes on Plato's Meno*: on the text and interpretation of 64 passages [on 70 b 2, 90 e 4 for 'Schanz and Thompson' read 'Naber'; on 73 d 3 for 'Thompson' read 'Buttmann'; at 73 d 6 ἐν δὲ καὶ is Fritzsche's suggestion; at 75 d 6 προομολογῇ is Gedike's; at 75 d 7 ἐρόμενος is Cornarius's; at 76 a 10 παρὰ γὰρ is Cobet's; on 80 a 4 for 'Thompson' read 'Fritzsche'; on 94 d 3 see Burnet's app. cr.; on 98 d 1 ἀλλ' is Gedike's supported by a correction in E]. D. Cohen, *The Origin of Roman Dictatorship*: the dictatorship was in origin a religious office, which in some form goes back to the period of the kings; there was never a magistrate called

praetor maximus, since in Livy vii. 3. 3 *qui praetor maximus sit* means 'the highest magistrate'; the dictator was chosen for the driving in of a nail, a form of magic, because he had the highest *imperium*, i.e. the greatest *mona*; the prohibition to ride a horse and the dictator's appointment in the silence of the night indicate early taboos. W. J. N. Rudd, *Libertas and Facetus*: in *Sat. i. 4* Horace associates Lucilius with the Old Comedy more closely than he knows is warranted, because he wants to suggest that he and they are links in the same tradition; when critics claim that L. was *comis et urbanus*, H. shifts his emphasis without contradicting himself, helped by the flexibility of the words *libertas* and *facetus*, which R. illustrates by quotations from Cicero and others. E. J. Kenney, *Ignavum Pecus*: in *Ov. Am. iii. 13. 4 per celebres* (first Aldine, slavishly followed by modern editors) is only a misprint for Nangerius's *percelebres*: we should keep to *et celebres*. G. J. De Vries, *Aristarche et le Bérissos de Posidippe*: whereas R. Merkelbach, *Rh.M. 92* (1956), 97 ff., has rightly understood the play on words in P.'s epigram referred to by schol. A on *Δ 101* (*Bήριος* an invented Trojan hero, from *βῆρ δ' Ἴσσοι*), he is wrong in thinking that Aristarchus failed to understand it. L. J. D. Richardson, *Note on πῶλον in Euripides, Heracles 209*: this indicates that the second genealogy (209-11) is in reverse order. W. Den Boer, *The Delphic Oracle concerning Cypselus*: in the Eteion oracle (Herod. v. 92f. 2) *δικαιώσει* is intentionally ambiguous: 'will punish' or 'will give justice to'. A. G. Carrington, *A Greek Enigma*: the answer to the riddle in *Anth. Pal. xiv. 28* [not 25] may be *λύγρος*, which as well as a light was a type of fish, hence *ἐξ ἁλός ἐχθρὸν γένος ἄλλαχον*.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE

XXXI. 2 (1957)

M. Lejeune, *Contribution à l'histoire des alphabets vénètes*: illustrates the relative independence of local Venetic alphabets by the representation of *t* in different areas by Etruscan *θ* and Etr. *t* and of *d* by several variants of Etr. *t* and by Etr. *z*. A. Ernout, *Le vocabulaire botanique latin*: analyses and classifies Latin botanical names—I.E. words, derivative forms (compounds, diminutives, adjectives as substantives, etc.), borrowings (technical or popular), words of doubtful or unknown origin. W. Spoerri, *Encore Platon et l'Orient*: disputes Jaeger's theories that Plato in the later dialogues was influenced by Persian dualism and that Aristotle in *n. φιλοσοφίας* represented the Academy as a

renaissance of Zoroastrianism after a cosmic period of 6000 years. J. Irigoin, *Colon, vers et strophe dans la lyrique monodique grecque*: in monodic lyric, as in Pindar, genuine strophes of three lines are to be distinguished from long lines divided by Alexandrian editors into two or three cola; *synaphaea* provides a criterion. Discussions of Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents* (P. Chantraine), Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* and Lewis, *The Official Priests of Rome* (R. Bloch).

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM

C. 2 (1957)

H. Herter, *Bacchus am Vesuv*: the wall painting (Naples Museum Inv. 112286) from the Lararium of A. Rustius Verus, who may be presumed to have owned vineyards on the slopes of Vesuvius, is an original work showing with freshness and realism the god in his domain. W. Kranz, *Zwei kosmologische Fragen*: (1) the rotation of the Earth about its own and the universe's axis in Plato's *Timaeus* is based on the Pythagorean-Empedoclean sphere, but the idea must have been known to Plato when he wrote the *Symposium*, or he could not have made Aristophanes' original man take this form; (2) the expression *οὐρανὸν καὶ φαινόμενα* was used first of astronomers, and Heraclides Ponticus was the first of whom it is found so used. R. Stark, *Über ein neues Fragment aus der neuen Komödie*: *Pap. Oxy. 2329*: restores and interprets the fragment, which might be attributed to Menander. A. E. Raubitschek, *Die schamlose Ehefrau*: the fact that Herodotus in i. 8. 3-4 quotes proverbs ascribed respectively to Theano and Pittacus suggests that his source is here a tragedy. E. Bickel, *Rekonstruktions-Versuch einer hellenistischen Gyges-Nysia-Tragödie*: reconstructs the plot of Hellenistic tragedy, to which the *Gyges* fragment should be assigned. J. Willis, *De codicibus aliquot manuscriptis Macrobiani Saturnalia continentibus*: rejects la Penna's classification into three families, supports Wissowa's into two, denies the possibility of constructing a complete stemma, and gives critical notes on 17 passages. A. J. van Windekens, *Les Hyperboreens*: the Hyperboreans were originally a religious group with Orphic tendencies concerned with the transport (*ὑπερφορά*) of its members to the other World. M. Treu, *Das Proömium der hesiodischen Frauenkataloge*: *Pap. Oxy. 2354* permits the reconstruction of the subject of the poem and the order of the fragments. It attempted to set families and peoples in their place in Genealogy, just as the *Theogony* had done for the gods. V. Coulon, *Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusen*

1015-1055, translates and interprets the passage. J. Moreau, *Κορυθαίριος und Παλαίριος*: these Moesian place-names mentioned by Procopius are to be connected with the *Pal-matīi*, a breed of *equi curules*, to the breeding of which this district was devoted. A. Lumpe, *Die Quelle von Pseudo-Eleutherius, Sermo de trinitate I*, is the Latin translation of Dionysius Exiguus of the third Letter of Cyril of Alexandria. S. Mazzarino, *Sui Δίκαιοι ἢ Εὐνόμοι δι Frinico*: the title represents ἀραίοι (Ir. *aria* = *δίκη*, and Hellenicus ἀραίοις τοὺς παλαιὸν ἀνθρώπους), which for a Greek suggested both 'old men' and 'Persians'; hence the other two Greek titles of the play are its synonyms.

C. 3 (1957)

E. Bickel, *Lucius Caesar Cos. 64 in der Origo Gentis Romanae*: the *Origo* is a genuine work dating from the late Empire; the nine references to Caesar are to L. Caesar (cos. 64 B.C.). V. Pisani, *Zu einigen messapischen Inschriften*: translates with linguistic comment *P.I.D.* ii. 619, no. 10*, and 526. J. H. Oliver, *Disability in the Roman Military Lists*: in Isidore, *Etym.* i. 24, *superstitem* means one wounded but not permanently disabled; *imperiū* is a corruption of *inaptum* (= 'permanent disability'). K. Wellecaley, *Moonshine in Tacitus*: the astronomical, geographical, and historical data fix the crisis of the second battle of Bedriacum to 9. 40 p.m. on the 24 October. A. F. Norman, *The Illyrian Prefecture of Anatolius*: distinguishes Eunapius' Anatolius Azutrio of Berytus from Libanius' Anatolius of Berytus. The Illyrian Prefecture was instituted in the 340's to supervise the synod of Serdica in 343 and to meet a possible disturbance on the Rhine-Danube frontier while Constantius was engaged in his British and German campaigns and Constantius was in the East. F. M. Heichelheim, *The historical date for the final Memnon Myth*: ancient Oriental sources show that the Memnon myth was completed between 663 and 656, and so confirm the traditional Greek date for Lesches. G. Giangrande, *Kritisches zum Historiker Herodian*: critical notes on five passages. H. Erbe, *Textkritische Beiträge zu den Bio-*

graphien Plutarchs: assuming minuscule corruption emends 22 passages, and interprets *Phocion* 9. 1-2, and *Dion* 5. 5, without emendation. G. Radke, *Ein Irrtum Strabons*: the false figures at iv. 178, are due to Strabo's error in taking a Gallic *leugo* to be equal to a Roman mile. H. M. Currie, *Tacitus, Agricola*, 28. 2: proposes *et uno in oram agente*. A. Traina, *Corvus et Grammaticus*: in Phaedrus, *Appendix*, 21, the raven has been trained to say *ave*, which does not represent the bird's natural cry.

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(225) C. Gallavotti, *Ares e Arrios prima di Omero*: a study (dedicated to the memory of Michael Ventris) of the groups *a-re-ja* in Pylos tablet *Tn 316*; ἀρεος is interpreted as derived from *apos* (not, as *L.S.*⁹ s.v. would have it, 'f. l.' in Aesch. *Supp.* 885), and as representing the positive grade of *apelaw*, ἀπαρος. (234) A. Luppino, *Teognide vv. 261-266*: discusses this difficult passage, and offers the following as a 'traduzione letterale' of it, 'Non vino, in mio onore, si beve, da quando, accanto alla lor tenera fanciulla, un altro li tiene, di me molto peggiore; acqua fresca, in mio onore, bevono presso di lei i suoi genitori; così spesso, infatti, essa ne va ad attingere, e, piangendo per me, ne reca loro. Là io, abbracciandola, la baciai sul collo, ed essa teneramente mi parlava.' (239) E. Pasoli, *Pudicitia Tarpeia o Pudicitia Patricia?*: discusses Propertius i. 16 (and especially the first four lines of the poem), arguing against modern interpretations of *Tarpeias*, and supporting Phillimore's conjecture *patricias*. (253) A. Guaglianone, *De Phaedri Fabula in 24 Quaestiuicula*: argues that 'at ille murem peperit' is the corrupt remnant of a complete line, and that the next line should read 'Quod in fabella legitur, hoc scriptum est tibi'. (256) C. Tibiletti, *Seneca e la fonte di un passo di Terulliano*: discusses *de anima* 41. 1-3, in connexion with five passages from Seneca, *Epp. ad Lucil.* 94 and 108. (261) G. Capovilla, *Tra Mythos e Geolinguistica Mediterranea*: conclusion of a paper of which the first part appeared earlier in the volume (Fasc. 1, pp. 23 ff.).

NOTES AND NEWS

VOLUME 15 of *Hellenica*, the journal of the Hetaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, is a Festschrift presented to Sokrates Kougeas, formerly Professor of Ancient History in the University of Athens, on his eightieth birthday.

The publication of *Dacia*, 'Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne', which was suspended ten years ago, has now been resumed under the auspices of the Institut d'Archéologie (formerly the National Museum of Antiquities) at Bucarest. Volume i (1957) of the new series is a handsomely produced book of nearly 400 pages, dedicated to the memory of Vasile Pârvan: it is intended to issue a volume of the same size every year. The journal is primarily designed to acquaint scholars in other countries with the progress of Rumanian archaeology, and nearly all the articles (sixteen, compared with two in German, one in Italian, and two in Russian) and all the reviews are in French. The editors ask archaeologists and ancient historians in these countries to assist them by exchange or by sending publications for review.

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Excerpts or extracts from periodicals and collections are not included unless they are also published separately.

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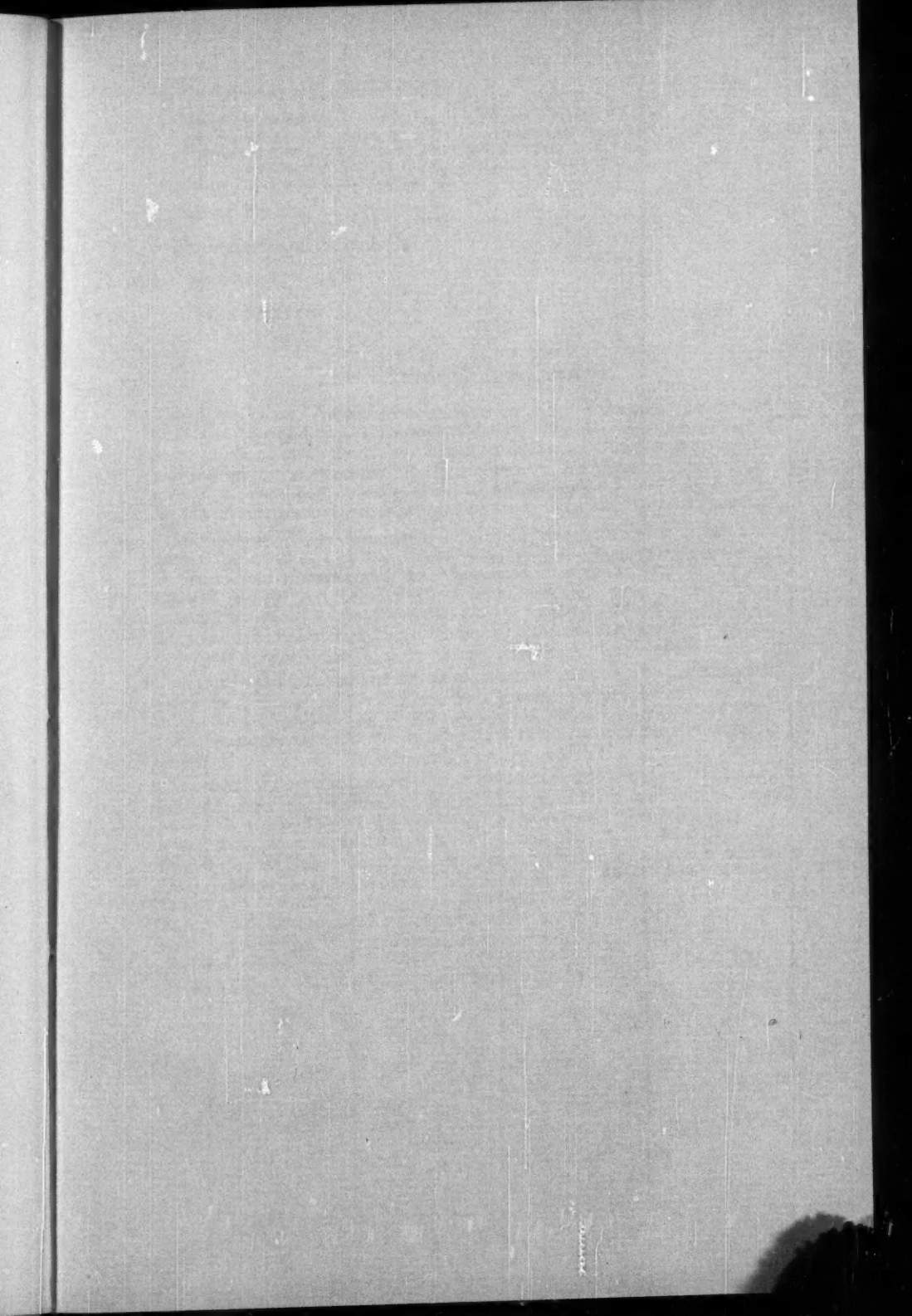
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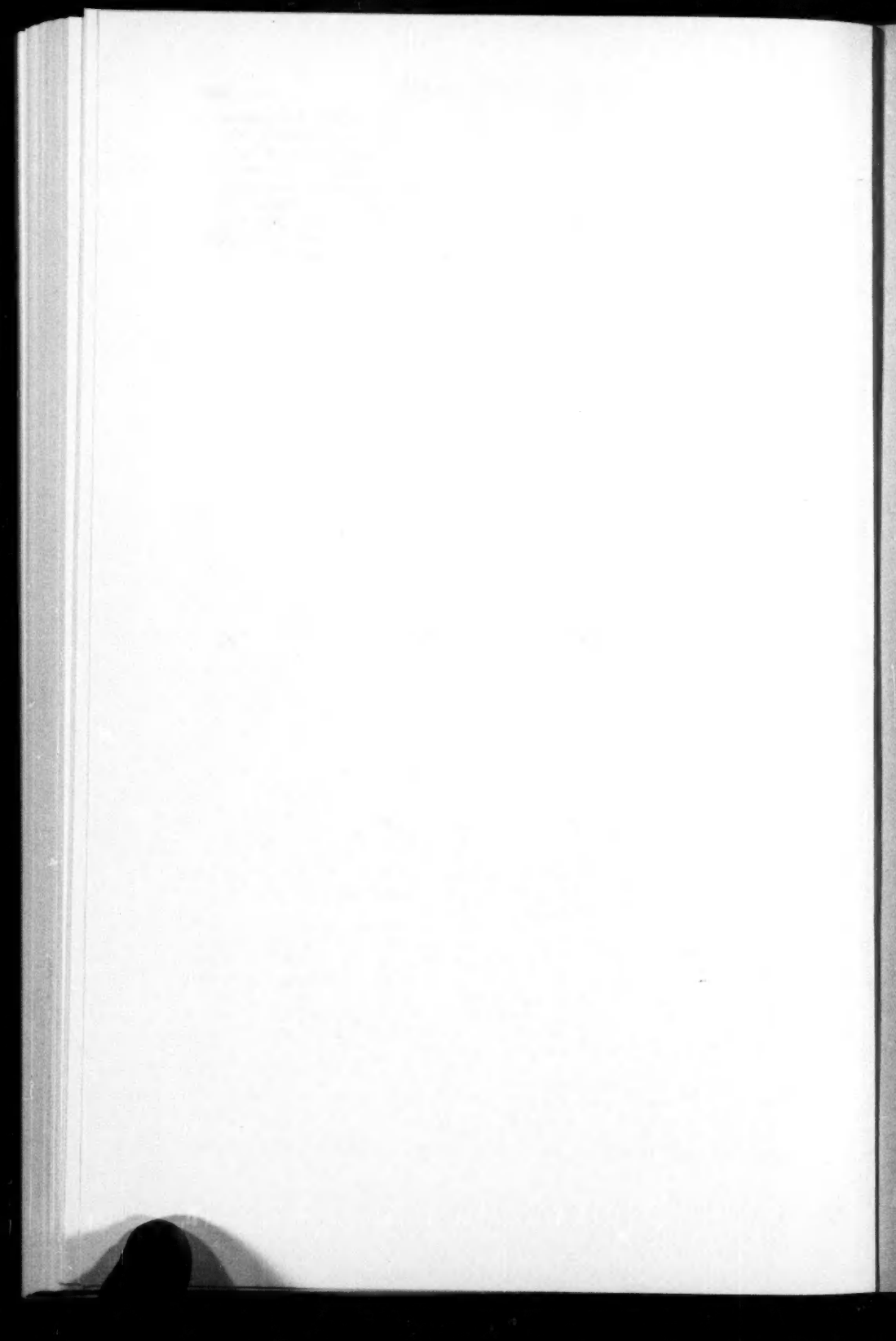
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